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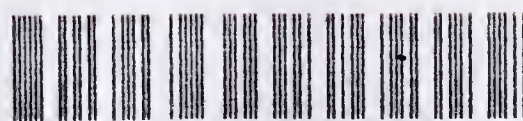


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THE
LUTHERAN QUARTERLY

CONDUCTED BY

J. A. SINGMASTER, D. D.

FREDERICK G. GOTWALD, D. D.

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THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JANUARY, 1910.

ARTICLE I.

IF THE OLD FAITH IS DEAD, CHRISTIANITY IS DEAD.*

BY REV. G. U. WENNER, D.D.

The disciples of the new theology loudly proclaim that the Old Faith is dead, in this modern world absolutely dead. But not Christianity. Christianity, they say, is about to set out on a new career of victory, by virtue of the new value assigned to Christ. We must resolutely remove Christ from the side of God where the Old Faith has placed him, and we must put him on the side of man. Then Christianity will no longer be an isolated manifestation, but will be regarded as the fruit, and that too, the fairest fruit of the great religio-historic development of humanity. We shall have broken with that unfortunate superstition which so long has obscured Christianity, that God, ignoring the rest of the nations, made a special revelation of himself to a people located in a small corner of the world. We shall have broken too, with that bad habit which has so often sullied the reputation of Christianity, the habit of looking down with pharisaic pride upon the non-Christian religions of the world. If Christianity is to be a religion for everybody it must be shown to be the product of the general development.

Exception may be taken to some of these statements. We do

*An abstract of the third chapter of Dr. Theodore Kaftan's *Moderne Theologie des alten Glaubens*.

not look down with pharisaic pride on other religions. Our most ancient theology coined the phrase *logos spermatikos*. The theology of the Middle Ages placed great stress on the *revelatio generalis*. Nor have we forgotten the sermon which a distinguished adherent of the Old Faith once preached on the Areopagus to the people of Athens.

The Old Faith does indeed maintain that Christianity is a special revelation of God in Jesus Christ, but it does not assert that it is something separate from universal human history. Christianity is not an isolated religion. It is a fulfilment of that for which men everywhere have sought, among the Gentiles as well as in Israel. But while that is conceded, it is not the *product* of universal religion. In this sense the Old Faith isolates Christianity, it regards it as founded on him who is the one and only one, on Jesus Christ. On this point there can be no misunderstanding. That is our position. Only when the moderns bring this up as a charge against the Old Faith, and act as though they had made a wonderful discovery, something that had never been heard of before, they are either ignorant, or else they have forgotten. When Rationalism first roused the Church from the slumbers of orthodoxy it was Lessing who formulated practically the same charge in his famous and widely used apothegm: "The idea is not fond of expending its force in a single individual."¹

But we can go further back than Lessing. The substance of what he expressed in his phrase was the main charge of the Neoplatonists at the time when Christianity began to be victorious. Indeed in the days of the Emperor Hadrian, when the despised Nazarenism was first beginning to attract the attention of the "scholarly class," one of the smartest of that set, Celsus, made substantially the same charge against Christianity. Its alleged history he regards as a mosaic of fables more or less borrowed from other religions, just as our modern theology people are

¹ This was the fundamental thought of the old liberal school in theology, "not history, but idea." The difference was expressed by discriminating between Positives and Liberals. But the Liberals frequently objected to this discrimination on the ground that they also believed in religion and hence were "positive" in the highest degree. But this is confusing conceptions. Positive theology stands for historical facts. Liberal theology for the purely ideal.

claiming in our day. When he attacks it along philosophical lines his chief assault is against the ridiculous position of the Christians, that they had a special revelation, just as the Jews before them had claimed.

The thing, therefore, that distinguishes the Old Faith from the New, is essentially as old as the hills. It is the old battle between faith in Christ and the denial of Christ. The only new thing, relatively new at least, is the supreme confidence which our modern friends seem to have that by denying Christ they will infuse new life into Christianity. Doubtless they mean well, but they are deceiving themselves. When the Old Faith dies, Christianity will be dead. Christian faith consists of the specific revelation in Jesus Christ, that is of the revelation of God in the person of Christ. In his death on the cross, and his resurrection from the dead.

We must, however, guard against misunderstandings in two directions. We do not say that everyone who repudiates the Old Faith is personally not a Christian. Personal Christianity is revealed not only in a man's faith, but in the entire output of his life. Without personal conversion there is no such thing as personal Christianity. Fundamentally, personal Christianity is the soul's vital relation to the eternal God through the mediation of Christ. It is of course important for a man to have a true faith, a pure doctrine. But it is nevertheless possible under circumstances for a soul to stand in a vital relation to God, even though its intellectual operations are all wrong. Just as a man's head may have correct conceptions of God while he himself lacks pure Christianity.

Neither does the author claim that all faith in God, or all religion, will disappear along with Christianity. Religion existed in the world, apart from Israel, before Christ came. Plato's philosophy contains a great deal of religion. Within the bounds of Christendom there is considerable religion that does not proceed from the gospel. For example, the mysticism of the Middle Ages, and Schleiermacher's *Sermons on Religion*. (Dr. Eliot's views had not yet been published.)

Religion will not die, but *that* Christian faith in God, that is, faith in the living God, who is the Father of us all, who graciously forgives sins and by divine forgiveness grants unto us

everlasting life, here in this world and in the world to come forever, *this* religion will lose its hold as soon as the revelation in regard to Christ's person, his death on the cross, and his resurrection is found to be an illusion that will not stand the test of our clearer perceptions, our fuller knowledge. Faith is not a figuring with possibilities, not a supposing of probabilities, it is assurance. And what is there in all the world, out of Christ, that can tell us of the grace of God, of a life that is stronger than death, of a God who is our Father? Those of us who are sure of Christ know something of the reality of redemption, of salvation founded upon the cross of Christ. But if the cross is eliminated how shall we be assured of the grace of God, not merely in the days of sunshine but then also when the soul cries out of the depths. Some people refer us directly to God. But how do you know that God is good if you do not know him in Christ?

Christians are assured of the reality of a life that transcends the power of death. But if the resurrection of Christ from the dead turns out to be an illusion, whence shall we derive the confidence of eternal life? Our individual life *seems* to be associated with the body. So far as we can see, the soul-life is inseparably connected with the body. When the body goes to pieces, the soul-life goes out. This experience is constantly repeating itself, and hence the idea keeps forcing itself upon us that individual human existence is conditioned by the individual body. It begins with the body and with the body it disappears. We shall need a strong proof to the contrary in order to obtain any other conviction. All sorts of considerations may be cited, but outside of the resurrection of Christ, they are empty. As for a living God, who takes an interest in these various living personalities, out of Christ how do you know that there is a living God, the Father of all, the Father of every one of us?

Without that specific revelation from which Christendom has been drawing for two millenniums, we shall have to go back to that which from ancient times has been the way the nations took to find their God, that *sum total of things* that surrounds us, which we call the world. *What does the world tell us about God?*

The world indicates that the absolute, as the philosophers say.

or God, as we would say, is a mighty creative force from which not only that life originates which we call the natural or material life, although we do not really know what it is, but also that life which we call spirit. This spirit life indicates that God is a Spirit. In fact everything indicates this. The things that we call nature and spirit are wonderfully connected. Everything that we call world bears the impress of the spirit. The marks of design are everywhere. In our day Natural Science shows in increasing measure that in a scientific explanation of the world, mechanical causality does not suffice. The marks of design show that there is a supreme intelligence in the creative force. The world is the proof of this. A supreme intelligence, but nothing more. It is a mistake to conclude from this that there is a personality, intelligence does not necessarily imply personality. We are constantly finding such a thing as a sub-personal intelligence, for example in many animals and even in plants, why should there not also be such a thing as a super-personal intelligence?

But when we want to know what the world has to say about God, we are not confined to our experience of nature. That which we call God manifests itself also in the history of humanity. Likewise in the history of the individual.

But whether in the history of the world or in individual life, the deepest experience is that which we call the moral order. In spite of many contradictory signs there is evidence in the world not only of supreme intelligence but also of a pronounced *ethos*. But here, too, it would be going too far to find in this fact the guarantee of a personal God. We incline to do this because we associate morality with personality. But such a powerful preacher of the moral order of the world as Fichte knew nothing of a personal God. These elements, design and moral order do not exclude the idea of personality but they do not prove the existence of a God, much less the God of Christianity.

On the contrary, common experience indicates that the great force that permeates the world takes no account of individuals. If you listen to what even Christians think and say outside of church and prayer meetings, you will find a multitude of doubts on this question. Think of the useless sufferings of innocent children, of accidents in which the innocent suffer as frequently

as the guilty, of premature deaths, or of such a holocaust as the Slocum disaster. These things give the impression that life is a chain of accidents, with the direction of which ethical intelligence has nothing to do, or if it has, that men are of as much concern to it as are the atoms of dust that float in a sunbeam.

To sum up, all that we can learn from the world, from the fullness of the manifestations of nature, from all the lessons of history, national or personal, does not go beyond tremendous force, supreme intelligence and a pronounced ethical principle. We do not get beyond the bounds of an ideal pantheism, a doctrine which is by no means atheistic, and which does not preclude the idea of life and development beyond the grave. This is what the world teaches, and in the realm of common experience there is nothing that can take us beyond this teaching of the world.

Will speculation do it? In a large sense speculation is a seeking after God. Men have always speculated. But thinking a thing does not make it so. Unless you have something to speculate with, your business is not sound. In point of fact, the great masters of speculative thought in all ages have been substantially pantheists.

Or will religion do it? Religion is not altogether an illusion. If speculation is a seeking after God, religion is coming into touch with God. The great demonstrations of natural religion in the West and in the East have all been substantially pantheistic. The full flower of natural religion is mysticism, and mysticism in its final development is pantheism. In the attainment of the knowledge of God neither speculation nor religion can bring us God, or give us anything more than what we get from *Gesamtwirklichkeit*, the totality of existing realities.

And what neither speculation nor religion can do by themselves, cannot be accomplished by that combination of the two which has frequently been attempted since the days of Schleiermacher, who showed that there was an independent province of religion in the soul-life of man. The effort was made to prove the psychical necessity of religion, and from that he concluded that there must be a God. But what kind of a God is he who must be reached by a process like this?

It is useless to attempt to escape. Turn whichever way you

will, in universal experience there is nothing that will lead you beyond what the world can tell you about God.

If the special revelation in Christ is an illusion, then Christianity falls to pieces. But here is where the Moderns interrupt. They say we do not reject Christ. On the contrary we regard him as a religious force of the greatest magnitude. But we reply, Christianity is dead not only when Jesus Christ is gone, but also when there is no other Christ than the one whom you can offer.

Who then is the Jesus of the Moderns?

It is a strange feeling that creeps over us when we hear the Moderns speak of Jesus Christ. The thought forces itself upon us, do they comprehend in any degree what he really is and what he is for us? And when this thought comes to me, it does not frighten me, it awakens in me a glad hope.

Such sacred questions are never to be treated as party questions. We must study them as men whose own souls are seeking for nothing else than truth, than reality. In such a strife, the quarrels and recriminations of parties must lie far beneath us. But the goal must be truth, reality. We must not be put off with beautiful thoughts, with expressions of enthusiastic affection, with confessions of fanatical devotion.

There is reason to hope that the person of Jesus Christ will eventually prove to be the way on which many of the Moderns, delivered from the trammels of their secular philosophy will find their way back to the only begotten of the Father, their Redeemer, their living Lord.

But here we must have a clear and definite view of what kind of a Jesus it is that the Moderns proclaim. We might attempt to give a composite view of what they say about Him. But it would seem to be safer to select a presentation which is widely recognized and accepted among them. Such a book we have in Bousset's "Jesus," written for the purpose of telling evangelical Christians who Jesus was in reality, according to the results of scientific investigation, written too not merely in the interests of scientific research, but with the purpose of serving religion and the religious needs of men. This little book of Bousset's is looked upon by the Moderns as the ripe fruit and consummation of their theology.

The last of the three chapters of his book is entitled "The Secret of His Personality." It is this that concerns us here.

According to Bousset it is hard to tell what Jesus took himself to be because his life in the gospel was portrayed by faith and not in the spirit of historical accuracy. But the most certain thing that we know in this direction is that he looked upon himself as the Messiah, and it is most probable that he attained this conviction in the hour of his baptism. He claimed to be more than one of a series, even a series of prophets. He was conscious of uttering the final, the decisive word, was convinced that he was bringing to completion, and that no one would come after him. This superprophetic consciousness, says Bousset, cannot be deleted from the account of his personality without destroying it altogether. It is true, the title Son of God in Jesus' own time can only be regarded as equivalent to Messiah. In the mouth of his disciples it first attained a deeper significance. But Bousset confesses that the word Son in Mt. 11, 27, does not have the meaning of a title.

The only Messianic title which according to Bousset, Jesus appropriated to himself and employed is that of Son of Man, in which he describes himself as a supernatural being, eternal, of divine glory, who will judge the world. But this is not to be understood as a clear knowledge drawn from his personal consciousness. In the Synoptics Jesus never thought of claiming a premundane existence, nor a position of judge of the world. What then is the significance of his application to himself of the messianic title, Son of Man? In view of the impending fate of his final overthrow he clung to the Danielic promise of the Son of Man and applied it to himself. Of this expectation, in which the thought of Jesus finally landed, that in the near future he would return in the clouds of heaven, surrounded by his angels, Bousset says that strange as it appears to us, it was in reality a great feat for Jesus. It was the form in which he brought the certainty of his approaching death into harmony with the consciousness of his messiahship. (Of a suffering Messiah the Old Testament knows nothing). Here, too, the deepest foundation is his trust in his Father.

Thereupon Bousset reverts to the consciousness of Jesus, and in exalted language describes it in its radiant manifestation.

Closing the description with this sentence: "This is either frivolous presumption or sublime strength and assurance. History has decided in favor of the latter." Then Bousset continues:

"And in all of this he never transcends the limits of the purely human. Proofs: Mark 10, 18; Luke 11, 28; Mark 3, 33 f. Also his submitting to the baptism of John. Never did he demand faith in himself as he demanded faith in God. True, in appropriating to himself the idea of the Son of Man, he almost crossed the line, but he did not make himself equal with God.

Bousset then characterizes as unthinkable the idea that Jesus should have had such a thought, and shows that it was the product of the development of the Christian idea in the Church by pointing out the changes that Mt. 10, 32, said to be genuine, is said to have experienced in Mark 8, 38, and even in Mt. 16, 27.

What Jesus thought with respect to his death we do not know, for the last supper tradition is according to Bousset, exceedingly questionable, and upon such a solitary expression as Mark 10, 45, no dependence can be placed. Still it is possible that Jesus said it. But if he did, he did not mean to teach that his death had any significance for our salvation. As for his resurrection, whatever is to be said in regard to this, according to Bousset, does not belong to the portrait of Jesus, but to the history of the early Church. The germ of the disciples' faith in regard to the Easter events lay in the powerful impression which Jesus made upon them.

So Bousset. And he is a fair exponent of the modern theology. Kaftan does not criticise it as a whole. The only question that interests us in this connection is whether the Christian faith can be maintained with such a theology. What are the characteristics of Jesus Christ according to this picture? With gratifying candor the self-consciousness of Jesus is delineated. But after all the fine words that you read there, indicative of respect, admiration, and reverence, he was nothing but a man. This Jesus, the Man of Nazareth, is the one to whom we owe it that we are Christian believers in the sense of Christianity.

But is this *possible*? What guarantee can *such* a Jesus give us that this faith is truth, is reality?

Placing ourselves upon the basis of modern theology, accepting the delineation of Jesus which they believe to have discov-

ered with scientific accuracy, confident with them that Jesus really believed what he taught about God and about eternal life and that he gave his life as a pledge of the truth of it all, does that prove that all this is so? Even though this hero of the history of religion sealed his conviction with his life, how does that prove that it is the truth. If Jesus as the Moderns say, never transcended the limits of humanity, I as a man, seriously searching for the truth, am compelled to ask him, Where did you get these ideas? And when I remember that his knowledge of God was derived from the Old Testament Church in which he grew up, it is a very different world in which we live now. Would he, if he had been brought up in our times, talk and teach as he did then? He undoubtedly was a religious genius, taught as no one before him taught and as no one since his time, up to the present time, has taught. But that does not prove that his ideas about God and eternal life correspond to the reality. We are no better off with the Jesus of the modern theology than we would be if he were eliminated altogether. He does not lift us above the plane of ideas which we had without him. And no serious and thoughtful person would claim that their Jesus is the Jesus of the Bible, the Jesus of the Church, the Jesus of Christianity from the beginning and the One in whom and through whom alone it has its existence.

The highest point that logical thinkers can attain, if modern theology succeeds, is a sort of eclectic religion such as Eucken describes a bit of Platonism, a bit of neo-platonism, some events from the history of civilization and a little personal religious experience such as may be found in Christian congregations. This, says Eucken, is Christianity reduced to its essential truth. *But this is not Christianity.* It has some facts, but as a whole it is the product of an aviating tone of mind highly prized by men whose minds are attuned that way, but offering nothing for men who are in search of reality.

We are living in a critical period. Not critical because Christianity is opposed. Excepting in the Middle Ages, Christianity has always been opposed. But this is the critical thing, that Christianity, historical Christianity, the Christ of the old gospel is opposed by men who themselves claim to be Christians, who feel sure that they are serving the cause of Christianity. It

is the story of Christ in the wilderness. Christianity is not to be put to death. It is to be aided to a stronger life. Give up, says the Tempter to the Church, that dream of the early Church of Christ from above. Give up those Pauline ideas of the cross and the resurrection. Turn away from Paul, it is high time to do this, and go back to Christ. See him in his simple human greatness in which he has in our day been revealed. Get rid of your isolation and plunge, as the real Jesus would have you do, into the great stream of religio-historic development. Then you will reach the full truth, then you will unfold the fulness of your strength.

And what wonderful perspectives are revealed. Already the dawn of a world-religion is appearing. When satiated with that which Solomon's temple and the synagogue of Nazareth can offer, we advance underneath the blue sky and absorb all the great religious ideas of humanity, the free sons of Israel will join us, and Islam unreached by Christian missions, will never be able to withstand a great and free Christianity that has got rid of the folly of an incarnate Son of God. And China and India. Was not Brahma Somadji a prophecy?

What a perspective! A vast Church of humanity in which, from the infinitude of separate notes, one great harmony proceeds, which like a hymn to the glory of the eternal Godhead fills with rapture the souls of all the nations. And the keynote of it all is Christianity, Christianity reduced to its essential and eternal truth. This is the new theology.

Perhaps the Old Faith is dead, but if the Old Faith is dead, Christianity is dead.

New York City.

ARTICLE II.

THOUGHTS ON CONFESSIONAL QUESTIONS.

(With special reference to Criticisms of the General Synod.)

BY PROFESSOR J. L. NEVE, D.D.

Since the meeting of the General Synod in Richmond our critics of the German Synods have again been pretty busy. We do not doubt the sincerity of many of them. Much of our church life as it comes to an expression in our English periodicals, and as it is observed by our critics at places where our congregations and theirs are neighbors, seems to them very strange and out of harmony with what they are accustomed to consider the standard of true Lutheranism. But in their criticisms of the General Synod a number of things are left out of consideration: (1) That church work among the English necessarily must be of a different character from that among the Germans. The American is more subjective than the German. As a republican he is from childhood accustomed to more freedom and range for the individual than is the German, who was born in a monarchy and brought up in a State Church. This accounts for much of the difference in the methods of church work. (2) When some of our opponents direct their criticisms exclusively against the General Synod they fail to observe that practically the same would apply to the English constituency of the General Council and to the United Synod of the South. (3) They leave out of consideration that much of what they find fault with is exceptional and should not be regarded as characteristic of the whole body. As an example, it may have occurred that an individual pastor fellowshiped in worship with a Jew or a Unitarian. But such is a rare occurrence and always would meet with the disapproval of nearly all members of the General Synod. (4) It has always been an almost universally established principle in the Lutheran Church that church fellowship with even the more orthodox denominations should be avoided whenever such fellowship would be a practical demonstration

in favor of indifferentism as to the distinguishing doctrines of the two fellowshiping churches. But, in criticising the General Synod and other Anglicized synods on this point our opponents fail to see how easy and natural it is for them to live in harmony with this principle as the German church conditions seldom offer temptations for transgression; and how difficult this problem is for English Lutheran ministers, who are serving congregations which, by intermarriage and otherwise, always are in close connection with the surrounding churches. We will return to this question at the close of our article.

Let us see what we can reply to some of the criticisms that have been offered recently in our German Lutheran church papers.

Referring to the controversies on confessional matters, as we have them in the General Synod from time to time, our critics wonder how in a synod which is to represent the unity in spirit ("Einigkeit im Geist") one paper can fight the other; how at a convention there can be two factions arrayed against one another. What shall we reply to this? We might remark that it is **not** much different in the General Council. True, there are some synods of the extreme Lutheran wing that *seem* to have reached that unity of spirit. In their papers and at their conventions there *seems* to be no discordant note to disturb the harmony. But this word "seems" must be heavily underscored. It is only a seeming unity. The minds of these synods are constructed just as ours. They can not agree on all matters, even not on points of doctrine and practice where an agreement would be very desirable. At conferences, when discussing papers, there are always those who do not agree, and not infrequently they even dare timidly to give expression to their disagreement. But it is always dangerous to say much, and, as soon as the "popes" have given their final decision, there must always follow a retraction of the doubt expressed during the discussion. But if an onlooker happens to sit in one of the last seats he can observe that the final vote was not unanimous, a good many not having voted, and some, in the rear of the church, even showing signs of indignation. Synods of such rigorous type always make a strong impression upon many individuals and never fail to carry away all who are not strong in thinking for themselves,

and so the overwhelming influence will always be in favor of the decision rendered by the leaders. But among those who dissent in their hearts are many good men, devoted to their church, independent thinkers and holding firmly the teaching of the Word. Among them are those who go home dissatisfied, wishing that there would be more liberty of thought in the synod. I will not say that a synod where each individual can have his own way is the ideal thing, and I want it understood that it is my own conviction that in all fundamentals a church body should strive for unity of the spirit, but what I want to say here is this: the real unity of the spirit *does not even exist in the strictest of our Lutheran synods*. The unity is forced and therefore to a great extent only seeming, not real. The General Synod gives more liberty to the individual. An assent that is forced she does not desire. This, coupled with conditions that are explained by the history of the General Synod, accounts for many of the controversies coming up among us from time to time. The appearance is against us. We make no endeavor to conceal how much of unity on confessional questions is yet wanting among us. But we strive after it, and we have made progress, very marked progress, and we hope that we will be united more and more. Yet in striving after this unity of spirit four things must not be overlooked: (1) There will never be unity among Christians in absolutely all matters. (2) The unity of the spirit of which Paul speaks (Ephes. 4:3) can exist between brethren even if they should not agree in all the *finisses* of theology. The *fides quae creditur* must, in its rightful connection with *fides qua creditur* neither be underrated nor overrated. To overrate it is the serious mistake of the stricter Lutheran synods. (3) But even as to questions in which there ought to be a unity of the spirit in a church, it will often be "in part" only (Luther in the German Bible 1 Cor. 13:9 & 10 "Stueckwerk"); imperfect as long as we only "know in part" and "prophecy in part" and until "the perfect is come" and "that which is in part shall be done away with." (4) And where, as in the General Synod, assent is not obtained by means of force, there the imperfection of the unity of the spirit will always become more or less *evident*; while in the more rigorous synods this same imperfection exists but will be *concealed*.

This leads us to another frequent charge of our German church papers against the General Synod. They say that we know of no church discipline where doctrinal interests are at stake. But we beg to reply that this charge is unfounded in cases where deviation from orthodoxy is of the character of such fundamental errorists as the Unitarians, Universalists, Christian Scientists, etc. Where the error strikes at the foundation and rejects Christ, there our General Synod has always been on its guard. But this we admit, that, over against the errors of the Reformed churches, which leaves us Christ and his redemptive work for the salvation of sinners our General Synod is lenient: not that she endorses their errors, or approves their view of the truth for which Lutheranism stands; for her confession of the Augustana, her declaration concerning Luther's Catechism, her Ministerial Acts, her genuine Lutheran Formula of Government, are all standing testimonies against the peculiar theology of the Reformed churches. But in the General Synod it would be impossible to deal with the influences of the surrounding churches by making every individual dissenting from pure Lutheran doctrine an object of church discipline. Neither would that be in accordance with the spirit of the General Synod. She prefers another and a better way to bring all into line with her confessional basis, namely, the way of gradual education. The other synods—but again with the exception of the United Synod of the South and the English element of the Council—have here an altogether different practice. After due admonition, they proceed with excommunication against those who refuse to yield. They quote passages like these: "A man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition reject." (Tit. 3:10). "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause division and offenses contrary to the doctrine which you have learned; and avoid them." (Rom. 16:17). But these passages do not apply to such as entertain views that are not soundly Lutheran. The apostle deals with errors that undermine the foundations, Ebionites, Gnostics and the like. He speaks of such as are frivolous in making divisions. Granted even that dissensions of the kind that exist between the Lutheran and some of the Reformed churches *do* come within the scope of the passages here quoted, then it depends upon the intention and spirit with

which an individual holds to a dissenting view. If he be conscientious and does not seek schismatic ends we will be justified in tolerantly waiting to see whether the educational influences of the church of which he is a member will not bring him out all right in the end. Here the critics of our General Synod do not take into consideration a peculiar trait of the American people. It is not strange that the English in the General Council and the United Synod of the South here agree with the General Synod. The pedagogical principles of the Americans are altogether different from those of our German people. This can be observed in the family and in the school. The American does not like disciplinary measures as long as there is hope that kind persuasion and gradual education will accomplish the same results. This principle is a characteristic trait of the whole public life in America. Much pains are taken to handle different cases in such a manner as not to make them martyrs. In hopeless cases where the German would deal with blows, the American says with cool indifference: "Give him rope, he will hang himself."¹ That American trait can be noticed in all organizations in America, just as in the Church, not that our English Lutheran churches intend to ignore the teaching of the Scriptures on church discipline. But, in charity, they hesitate long before they decide to resort to the last means, namely: excommunication from the congregation of believers. Much of what our Lutheran German papers continually criticize as not Lutheran in the General Synod is not a real difference in confessional matters, but it is an expression of this American trait of leniency toward those of her number who fail to comply with the official position of the body. A few years ago Dr. Schmauk, president of the General Council, published in the "Lutheran Church Review" an interesting article on this subject. He said in reply to an article in one of the German church papers which had demanded rigorous measures against those who were not living up to The Fundamental Principles of the Council: The church is a school and not a court house. And we should be

¹ For a full understanding of what I here mean I refer to my German pamphlet on the "Traits of the American People," in particular the fourth chapter dealing with the educational features of our country.

patient even if it should take more than a generation to accomplish the desired results.

That our General Synod in all of its members is perfect as a representation of genuine Lutheranism, the writer of this article would not affirm. Our synod has its peculiar defects and difficulties owing to influences under which we labor. As a church body she officially stands squarely and honestly on the Augsburg Confession, not on the "altered" Augustana, but, as was stated in Hagerstown and now again with much emphasis in Richmond, on the "unaltered."² And no matter how individuals among us may have expressed themselves in the past, the General Synod as a body repudiates the position that in the later confessions there are any contradictions to doctrines of the Augustana. This is not to be considered as the resolution of some conventions only, but, according to action taken at Rich-

² We can not do without that old distinction between an "altered" and an "unaltered" Augustana. I can not agree with those who say that a distinction between the "Variata" of 1540 and as "Invariata" should not be made by the Lutheran Church. Of course, the copy (Latin) in our Book of Concord, the Editio princeps, is not the original that was read in Augsburg, and it contains some doctrinally unimportant changes, so that it would be academically more correct to say, the Invariata so-called. But the Variata of 1540 omits in Article X the "*vere adsint*" and the "*improbandi secus docentes*." When Calvin at the convention of Regensburg, where he was present as a delegate from Strassburg, put his signature to the Augsburg Confession, he did it with the reservation of interpreting it as Melancthon himself had done. (*Nec vero Augustanam Confessionem repudio, cui pridem volens ac libens subscripsi, sicut eam auctor ipse interpretatus est. So to Martin Schalling. Also in his Ultima Admonitio ad Joachim Westphalum. Comp. Salig I, 491 and Staehlin, Joh. Calvin I, 234*). There are many instances where the Reformed in Germany have subscribed the Augustana for the purpose of enjoying the benefits which the Augsburg Religious Peace Treaty of 1555 conceded to all adherents of the Augustana, but, as Zoeckler has pointed out in his book on the Augsburg Confession, they have always done it with the understanding that Article X (according to the reading in the Variata) admits of a Calvinistic interpretation. The same is true of the numerous attempts at union between the Lutherans and the Reformed in the seventeenth century. When the Reformed at such colloquies declared themselves willing to accept the Augustana they meant by it the Variata of 1540. (Comp. Zoeckler pages 61 to 66). One of the first steps of Elector Sigismund, when he had joined the Reformed Church and began to introduce Calvinism into Brandenburg, was an act of displacing the so-called Invariata by the Variata of 1540. He and his Reformed advisors knew that these two documents stood for two different things. If Luther had foreseen the use made of this altered edition of the Augustana of 1540 by the opponents of the Lutheran Church he would have been opposed to it from the beginning. In judging Luther's silence on the matter there is one thing that must not be left out of consideration: The Variata appeared at a time when Luther was in a very peaceful mood toward the Zwinglians. After the Wittenberg Concord had been made in 1536 it

mond, that declaration and other confessional statements of former conventions are to be codified and made a part of our constitution.³ The confessional position of the General Synod as a body is sound. But our weakness consists in this, that, judging from voices frequently heard in our church papers, there are those among us who do not agree with the confessional declarations given by the several conventions of the General Synod. They think that it is the mission of the General Synod over against the Concordia Lutherans to represent a Melancthonian Lutheranism; a type of Lutheranism that leaves its boundaries with the Reformed churches as much as possible in an undefined condition. It is this existing difference between

seemed that there was a chance that, after all, both sides might come together on the doctrine of the Real Presence. And during the following years Luther wrote some very sweet letters to his opponents in the South. It was at that time when the Variata appeared, voicing the peaceful sentiments of Luther by leaving out the "improbatio" and omitting even the "vere adsint." Considering the stand which Luther took in favor of the strongest expression possible (regarding the Real Presence) in the Smalkald Articles (1537) the omission of the "vere adsint" can not have been in harmony with Luther's wishes, but he simply tolerated the change for the sake of not disturbing a development that might result in doing away with a schism in Protestantism. But more and more Luther found that he was deceived. Zwingli was dead, but Calvin's influence was growing, and his seemingly mediating views took with many in South Germany and were fascinating even to Melancthon. Reports were circulated that Luther had abandoned his doctrine of the Real Presence. Now Luther breaks his silence. He is near his grave, and he does not want his followers to be deceived by the report that he ever yielded to Zwinglianism or even to Calvinism. In 1544, two years before his death, he writes as a testament to posterity his "Minor Confession of the Lord's Supper" establishing in the strongest terms his old doctrine of the Real Presence. At this time Luther came near writing also against Melancthon, but he yielded to the wishes of the Elector who dreaded such discord in his university. (Compare the thorough investigations of Planck on this subject). We are safe in following Rudelbach, Zoeckler, Kolde, Seeberg and a host of Lutheran scholars in believing that in the Variata of 1540 we have the embryonic beginnings of a theology that in the interest of unionism deviated from genuine Lutheranism. And since the Variata, after the conflicts between the Flacianists and the Melancthonians and in view of the use that the German Reformed have always made of it, has come to stand for a type of Lutheranism which, as much as possible, attempts to ignore the difference with Calvinism, a Synod, especially in the free church of America, is almost compelled to establish itself on the Invariata. Such men as Strobel, Rueckert or Heppe, who have written much on this subject, are not safe leaders. They were extreme Melancthonians and wrote to pave the way for the Prussian union or to vindicate that movement.

³ This does not mean that they have no binding authority until this is done. Compare the declaration of the General Synod at Richmond on this matter given below.

the General Synod *as such* and a circle of its members, whose sincerity we will not impeach, which is the source of that confessional restlessness among us which manifests itself in periodical eruptions, the injurious effects of which have not infrequently been felt in the life of our General body. The brethren among us who stand for this Melanchthonian type of Lutheranism are constantly aided in their views by the effects of the history of our General Synod especially in the fifties of the last century. The example of a venerable father always continues for generations to influence the children and to sanction the views of an age gone by. We must not speak disparagingly of these fathers. We can understand how they arrived at a type of Lutheranism that is now more and more discredited among us. The Lutheran church was rapidly finding its way into the English language, and, in the attempt to secure for her a place among other English Protestant churches of this new country, our fathers, observing the kind of Lutheranism established by the Missouri Synod and kindred bodies, thought that it would be a wise policy for the General Synod to stand for a Lutheranism "modified by the Puritan element," which in theology is Melanchthonianism. It was a mistake. Reaction followed in due time, and has grown stronger from decade to decade. It is in the nature of the Lutheran Church, by a slow but sure development, to free herself from elements that are foreign to her principles and her genius. Especially under free church conditions the development of our Church is bound to take that course. Many years ago Dr. Wolf, of Gettysburg, wrote in the *Lutheran Evangelist*, then edited by Dr. Ort, five articles on Melanchthonian Lutheranism which he showed to have always been a failure in the history of our Church. The General Synod, in the position she takes officially, is all right to-day. The criticisms in the German papers of Missouri, Joint Synod of Ohio, etc., which usually follow the conventions of our body, as after the convention in Richmond, need not disturb us. Our opponents have developed a wonderful virtuosity in picking up an article or a sentence from some individual in some private paper or a remark uttered by some one on the floor of the General Synod and then using it to characterize the whole body.

A remarkable performance of this kind has recently taken

place in the Missouri Synod. The book of Johnannes Grosse, Addison, Ill., "Unterscheilungslehren" (Distinguishing Doctrines of the Principal Synods *that call themselves Lutheran*, etc.) has just been issued in its fourth edition.⁴ This book, abounding in distortions and misrepresentations of all Lutheran bodies in this country, undertakes to characterize the General Synod in the following manner:

(1) After Dr. Seiss of the General Council, just on the preceding pages, has been treated again and again as an arch-heretic, he is quoted, in one of his older controversial writings ("The Javelin"), as an authority against the Lutheran character of the General Synod: "The General Synod as such has no doctrine." (Javelin p. 225). "Her so-called doctrinal basis is simply a Nonens." (p. 221). So Dr. Seiss, the chairman of the Pennsylvania Ministerium delegation that withdrew at Fort Wayne in 1866, wrote soon after the rupture in the heat of the battle that followed the organization of the General Council. A good many things were said at that time that were lacking the cool deliberation that must characterize a statement of lasting value. At the meeting of the General Synod at York, Pa., 1902, this same Dr. Seiss was the delegate of the Council to the General Synod; and he preached the principal sermon on the synodical Sunday and participated with his General Synod brethren in the Lord's Supper.

(2) In order to depreciate the weight of the General Synod's confessional paragraph, attention is called to the "Word of God as *contained* in the canonical writings," etc. This phrase was never meant to express a rationalistic idea. But to avoid all misunderstanding the General Synod, at her last convention in Richmond, adopted a different phraseology ("is the Word of God," etc).

(3) Much space is taken by Rev. Grosse to show that the General Synod in accepting the Augsburg Confession limits it to the fundamental doctrines. To substantiate this, a number of quotations from Dr. S. S. Schmucker are given. Also a statement of Dr. Brown in the Allentown church case, who said that he did not regard all things taught in the Augsburg Confession

⁴ On former editions see my "Brief History of the Luth. Church in America," p. 18.

as in accordance with the Scripture. But over against these personal opinions stands, since 1901, the declaration of the General Synod at the convention in Des Moines, that "to make any distinction between fundamental and so-called non-fundamental doctrines in the Augsburg Confession is contrary to that basis"—the basis of the General Synod—"as set forth in our formula of confessional subscription." This was repeated with much emphasis again at the last convention in Richmond. Now should not the declarations of two conventions of the General Synod where she undertakes to explain the meaning of her confessional basis have more weight than the private utterances of some of her members? It has been objected to this Des Moines resolution by our opponents that it does not have the force of a constitutional amendment, having never been formally adopted by two-thirds of the synods, according to the constitutional requirement (Art. VI, Sec. 2) and therefore is not a part of the doctrinal basis. But to this the General Synod replied in Richmond, "that the section above cited refers only to *alterations* of the General Synod's constitution; but the confessional resolutions referred to are not alterations of the constitution, and contemplate no alterations; they are simply explanations of the meaning of the General Synod's confessional basis. Therefore, it is not necessary to submit them to the District Synods of the General Synod. Inasmuch, then, as they were passed by the General Synod in regular session and have never been revoked by this body, they therefore become and remain a part of the confessional assets of the General Synod."⁵ What are we to say of a writer who publishes a book on the Lutheran synods of this country, a book that is to go out as an instructor of thousands of ministers and laymen that utterly ignores all the official declarations of a body and simply for the purpose of discrediting it, characterizes it by private utterances made in an age gone by? In order to quiet his conscience the author calls attention to the fact that in the newest edition of our Book of Worship the words "fundamental doctrines"⁶ are printed in italics, and this he takes

⁵ See Proceedings of the 44th Convention of the General Synod, in session at Richmond, Ind., June 2-10, 1909.

⁶ Compare on page 200 the confessional paragraph of our Constitution as a heading over the Augsburg Confession.

as an official declaration of the General Synod that she yet believes in the distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines of the Augustana. But he conceals from his readers (1) that not only this phrase, but a good many other phrases of this confessional passage are also in italics, the idea being simply to indicate by print all the essential parts of our doctrinal basis; (2) that not only the two words "fundamental doctrines" are underscored, but the "fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word" which, according to the declaration of the General Synod "means precisely what she (the Synod) says, namely, that the fundamental doctrines of God's Word are correctly set forth in the Confession. She does not mean that some of the doctrines set forth in the Confession are non-fundamental, and, therefore, may be accepted or rejected."⁷ And still more to make the defeat of Rev. Johannes Grosse of Addison, Ill., as complete as possible: the General Synod, at her convention in Richmond, ordered that the Des Moines resolution stating that no distinction between fundamental and so-called non-fundamental doctrines in the Augsburg Confession shall be made, shall from now on "with headings prefixed, be printed in all future editions of the Augsburg Confession published by the General Synod whether issued in separate form or in our Books of Worship."⁸ After this resolution was passed the other resolution was adopted to order the committee on "The Common Service" to codify and incorporate the substance of all the several resolutions and statements explanatory of the doctrinal basis into one clear and definite statement. We would like to know what Rev. Grosse and the faculty of the Missourian Seminary in St. Louis which, according to a note, assisted him in editing the book, has to say to all this? The Missouri Synod's monthly, "*Lehre und Wehre*," was among the first to comment on the Richmond resolutions. Why have they not been considered in this book? If the Missourians think that there is yet an element in the General Synod that does not agree with these Hagerstown-Des Moines-Richmond resolutions and that it may take some time before they have the full and hearty approval of

⁷ Proceedings of Richmond, p. 57

⁸ See Proceedings, p. 59.

all, let them state *that*, and we would not have objected; but we do object to such a piece of gross deception as displayed in this book of Grosse!

(4) The author of the book under review quotes an anonymous writer who in 1875, in a German pamphlet, made the statement that the General Synod knew herself to be *in harmony with most of the principles of the Prussian union*. We know that pamphlet. Every one who reads it can see what the writer means. He simply believes that his synod endorses most of the confessional principles of the Lutherans in the Prussian union—not all of them, for instance, their objectionable principle that Lutherans and Reformed might exist under one church government. Rev. Grosse quotes from that pamphlet to show that the General Synod is a unionistic body. But even if this writer says something amiss, what responsibility has the General Synod of to-day for the statements of a pamphlet published in 1875. Rev. Grosse, in his attempt to characterize the different Lutheran bodies of our country employs a method that is ridiculous. He quotes some one on a question of doctrine or practice, and no matter whether this was adopted by the synod or not the synod is responsible for it, and is a reliable expression of the position of the synod. This method is misleading in the highest degree. This is a new country. All the different types of Lutheranism which history has developed in the Fatherland are represented here in as many synods. The exchange of views in Church papers, the contact between the several synods on the field naturally leads to constant self-examination. So the synods develop. We learn from others; others learn from us. Therefore such methods as are used by Grosse are absolutely unreliable. What was true some twenty-five years ago does not apply to conditions of to-day. The Tennessee Synod used to fight the North Carolina Synod; to-day both synods belong to the same general body. Thus many synods have changed more or less. Here a remark in passing: The Missourians consider the General Synod responsible for such utterances of individuals *because she did not make them objects of church discipline*. Grosse quotes Dr. Brown on the distinction between fundamentals and non-fundamentals in the Augustana, and then says: “And for such statements sworn

to by the professor, he was not disciplined nor removed, but remained teacher of theology in the General Synod until 1881." But let me reply: I heard Dr. F. Pieper of St. Louis say, at the Inter-synodical Conference in Detroit, when pressed about the extremely predestinarian utterances of Dr. Walther:⁹ "We do not endorse everything Dr. Walther has said." But why was Dr. Walther not disciplined if he on such a doctrine, in the official paper of the Synod,¹⁰ and in other important documents, made statements which the synod can not endorse? Is there a difference in the two cases?

(5) A few words more and we are done with this book. On page 67 Rev. Grosse tries to prove the "unionistic" character of the General Synod by stating that in her Ministerial Acts (Agende) she does not use a Lutheran form of distribution (Spendeformel) when celebrating the Lord's Supper; that she is simply using Christ's words of institution as is done "in all the unierte Agenden," thus leaving it to the communicant whether he wants to put a Lutheran or a Reformed construction upon the words recited. But here this writer seems to have failed to examine for himself the only official "Ministerial Acts" as adopted in 1899 in York, Pa. There he can read on page 60 the forms of distribution exactly as they were used in the old Lutheran Church of the sixteenth century. While we believe that here the author is the victim of mere error, yet we feel constrained to ask: Shall this fourth edition now go out into the thousands of homes and pastor's studies to misrepresent the General Synod and to create prejudice against her? This is a serious question! The misrepresentations which this book contains ought to trouble the conscience of a normal Christian. And if account has to be rendered some day for every idle word, how much more for words perpetuated in a book and sent out as a guide for the Church!

But how did we get into this discussion of Rev. Grosse's book? We used it as an illustration of the methods resorted to by our critics to prove that the General Synod is not Lutheran. Here

⁹ See some of them in my "Brief History," p. 123.

¹⁰ Proceedings of Western District, 1877.

is another instance. The "*Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*" (Joint Synod of Ohio) declared some time ago that the General Synod does not even accept the Augsburg Confession. As reason for this was offered an unfavorable critique of Dr. Loy's book on the Augsburg Confession that had appeared in the *Lutheran Observer*. But that review, though written as it seemed with strong feeling of aversion against the spirit of the book, was no rejection of the Augustana. The principal objection of the *Observer* to Dr. Loy's book was this, that it seemed to show hardly a trace of familiarity with modern theological thought, even not with that of a decidedly Lutheran stamp. If the writer of this review, by the word "modern" which offends the *Luth. Kirchenzeitung* as smacking of Unitarianism, simply meant—as we understood it—that Dr. Loy, in his exposition of the articles of the Augustana, has ignored the development of confessional theology as represented by the men of the Erlangen school (v. Hofmann, Thomasius, Delitzsch, Frank, Luthart, Ihmels, etc.) then this needed not to sound so terrible in the ears of the writer in the *Kirchenzeitung*! For between the theology of the sixteenth century and most of these men just mentioned there is no material, but merely a formal difference. The difference is in forms of thought, in "Gedankenformen." The *Lutheran Observer* does not favor modern theology in the sense of Socinianism. But now as to Dr. Loy's exposition of the Augustana, it cannot be denied that his book moves exclusively in the forms of thought of the theology of the sixteenth century, ever accumulating the expressions coined by that age. I want to say here that I did not hesitate to recommend Dr. Loy's book warmly to the readers of the "*Zions-Bote*." Written in edificational form for the people, we considered it a valuable contribution to the practical literature of our Church, even if, here and there, there is an underlying principle that we can not approve. There is an element of power in the sixteenth century *edificational* reproductions that makes itself felt on almost every page of this book. Yet it reflects the peculiar confessional and religious life of the Synod of which the author is an honored leader; and if a paper of the General Synod criticises such elements we say, first, that this is no rejection of the Augustana, and, secondly, we protest

when, on the basis of such a review, the attitude of the General Synod to the Augsburg Confession is discredited.

All such criticisms of the General Synod can not stand the light of a thorough examination. Our opponents may be able to say something concerning practice that will apply to individual cases here and there, but what they say against the General Synod and against her doctrinal position are merely soap bubbles which explode as soon as they are touched. As a synod we have made progress. The resolutions on our confessional basis presented at Richmond by Dr. Keyser and adopted by an overwhelming majority, not in a rush, but after a discussion, and after motions to refer and to lay on the table had been voted down, was a magnificent step forward not in the way of changing our doctrinal standpoint, but in the way of a clear and precise definition of how our old confessional paragraph is to be understood.¹¹ It is a document that covers in small print five

¹¹ Some may think that the whole phraseology of our confessional form of subscription should have been given up because of the misconstructions it has been subjected to in the past by our own men. Such may be the outcome when the General Synod comes to adopt the report of her Common Service Committee which is to "codify the several resolutions" and to "incorporate the substance of the same into one clear and definite statement of our doctrinal basis." But we insist that while this may be the outcome, our confessional paragraph as we have it now is not misleading and objectionable in itself. It is carrying something into it, which was not thought of by the composers, to interpret it as Dr. S. S. Schmucker and his followers have done. To an innocent reader the words "and the Augsburg Confession a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine word" suggest no distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines. It may suggest the idea that in the Augustana, as well as in any creed, there are human elements which are not included in the subscription. For instance, when Melancthon said at the close of the first twenty-one articles: "This is about the sum of our doctrines from which it is evident that they contain nothing inconsistent with the Scriptures, or with either the Catholic or the Roman Church, so far as is known from the (ancient) writers (or fathers)," so we know now that, even if Melancthon did not mean more than that, the Church of the first five centuries was in full accord with all the Lutheran positions, this was an overstatement; for the Roman Catholic leaven was much older than Melancthon, in the Augustana, was willing to admit. (See Prof. Kawerau's letter in the Holman Lecture in July number of the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, 1909, p. 330). But such and other things do not affect the confessional substance, the "fundamental doctrines of the divine word" as set forth in the Augsburg Confession. This is, in negative respects, the only thing that an innocent mind will find in the General Synod's confessional form of subscription. Therefore, it is in itself unobjectionable, even if the phraseology should never be changed. This is a reminder to those who, like "*Lehre und Wehre*," intend to question the formal correctness of our confessional paragraph until the General Synod has adopted something else.

pages in the "Proceedings" of the Richmond convention and deserves to be read and studied by all of our members and especially by those in other Lutheran bodies who wish to pass judgment on the Lutheranism of the General Synod. When "F. B.," the valiant critic of all churches in "*Lehre und Wehre*" first saw these Richmond resolutions he seemed to be speechless, but after he had gotten breath again he consoled his heart by saying that this does not make the General Synod Lutheran. It depends upon, he said, what she actually is (the "Sein") and not upon what she *seems to be* (the "Schein"). Yes, but during many years "*Lehre und Wehre*" has tried to discredit us by saying that we did not accept the unaltered Augsburg Confession; that we distinguished between fundamentals and non-fundamentals in the Augustana; and that we assumed an attitude of indifference, if not of hostility, to the Form of Concord. By the Richmond statements which the General Synod declares to be binding without submission to any district synod, because they are "no alterations," but "simply explanations of the meaning of the General Synod's basis," the General Synod has made it impossible for all right-minded men to disparage her doctrinal position. That the adoption of this document does not at once bring every member into full sympathy with the spirit and theology of the contents of those resolutions, we know well enough—such is always a slow process; but let us understand that, *our ideal of Lutheranism is not that of the Missouri Synod*. There is a difference of opinion between us concerning that "Sein" of which "*Lehre und Wehre*" speaks.

Our critics invite the Wartburg and German Nebraska Synods to sever their connection with the General Synod. It cannot be denied that there is something not quite natural in the synodical connection between purely English and purely German elements. It frequently means on the part of the Germans, who are in the minority, a yielding to methods which they hesitate to adopt. But they are in America, and they come to learn that new methods, if they only do not overthrow the principles of our confession, are adiaphora. And what, in moments of discouragement, has always helped to make our Germans contented with their synodical connection is this continual growth of Lutheran consciousness of which almost every convention of the General

Synod has given evidence these many years. A synod of the importance of the General Synod and developing in the direction indicated deserves to be strengthened instead of weakened by withdrawals. In addition to this, history, and especially the history of the Lutheran Church in America, shows by a good many illustrations that a church body should hesitate long before it decides to sever its synodical connection. Take, for instance, the Michigan Synod. Twenty-three years ago she was a district synod of the General Council. Because a prominent member of the General Council had spoken, at a convention of that body, in the pulpit of a Presbyterian church, the Michigan Synod left the Council and joined the Wisconsin Synod which is a part of the Synodical Conference. But soon she found herself in war with Wisconsin and severed her connection with that body for "doctrinal reasons," as was announced. A considerable part of the ministers and the congregations decided to remain in the Wisconsin Synod. In such a decimated condition Michigan then existed for quite a number of years, endeavoring to support a Seminary, but torn by internal troubles. Finally the little synod decided to return again with a *pater peccavi* to Wisconsin. The story of this synod is certainly a warning not to take lightly the severing of a synodical connection. Michigan should have remained in the Council. Her withdrawal has altogether lacked the sanction of divine blessings. Such seasons of withdrawal are fraught with scandalous occurrences that have a confusing effect upon many for whose spiritual welfare a synod bears the responsibility. Christ says, "Woe unto the world because of the offenses! For it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!" True, there can be conditions of such a kind that withdrawal becomes a most sacred duty, as was the case at the time of the Reformation. But conditions as they existed then our opponents should not put in comparison with imperfections such as are found in the General Synod, imperfections that exist in every synod in one way or another, which gradually can be overcome by the faithful co-operation of its members.

Our opponents fail to see the point where the Germans of the General Synod are in harmony with the confessional principles of the body to which they belong. There is a dividing princi-

ple between the people of the General Synod, even of the most conservative of them, and the German Lutheran synods that are engaged in this constant warfare against us. What is it? It is not the doctrine of justification by faith, not the doctrine concerning the means of grace. But what is it? Wherein do our views differ from theirs? It is concerning the Church, and in particular concerning the visible Church. Our opponents show by their practice and by the spirit of their polemics their belief that the Lutheran Church alone has a right to exist. They treat all other denominations *without discrimination* as sects and wilful errorists to whom the words of Scripture quoted before apply, "A man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition reject." (Tit. 3:10). And, "Now I beseech you, brethren mark them which cause division and offenses contrary to the doctrine which you have learned; and avoid them." (Rom. 16:17). We in the General Synod—the German districts included—take here a position different from our critics. We, of course, reject all who undermine the foundation, who have given up Christ and ignore his redemptive work. But in speaking of the others we discriminate between "sects" that have organized on hooks and buttons, on beards and shaving, on seventh or first day, and between such churches that owe their existence to a reaction of the sound body against evils that had begun to overpower and to paralyze the Christian Church of a country. We are not blind to some very deplorable errors that these churches entertain on a good many subjects of even fundamental importance, and we regret that they do not accept our system of doctrines which we have learned to know as scriptural. But neither do we want to be blind to the fact that as churches they believe in the Bible as God's Word; in the Trinity and in a divine Savior of sinful man. So we call them churches that have a right to exist—a right to exist to the degree they represent saving biblical truth, and we believe that they are recognized by the Head of the Church as agents in the work of saving souls. This our opponents regard as the root of all unionism. But the General Synod is also opposed to unionism. She will reject unionism as soon as the proposition is made that she as a Lutheran body and entrusted with the care for our Lutheran faith shall enter into organic union with a church holding to a

creed that does not agree with the Augsburg Confession. *The Lutheran Evangelist* in its dying hours suggested again and again that the General Synod should unite with the "German Evangelical Synod of America," a body which stands for the principle: organic union between Lutherans and Reformed on the basis of an indifference as to the dividing doctrines of the two churches. The German Evangelical Synod declares in its confessional paragraph its acceptance of the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism, *but together with the Reformed Heidelberg Catechism, and where these two confessions disagree, liberty on the basis of the Scriptures shall be given to both views.* Now whenever the proposition to unite with this body should come before the General Synod it would be found that she rejects unionism. She will never accept anything less than the Augsburg Confession, nor will she unite with a body that limits the obligation to the Augustana to the elements that we have in common with the Reformed Churches.

Yet though we disapprove of a union with the Reformed Churches before an agreement on the dividing doctrines has been reached, we say that in the same measure as they stand for biblical and saving truth they have a right to exist. While this was contested by the Lutherans in the time of the Reformation, who feared that the spiritualism of the Reformed (which is the root of their conception of the sacraments), would lead them into all the aberrations of Carlstadt and the Anabaptists and other enthusiasts of that age—I say, while the Lutherans of the sixteenth century thought that the subjectivism of the Reformed was bound to lead to a dissolution of the Church, history has proved another thing and has vindicated their right to be recognized. These considerations lead the English of the General Synod to the admission of an *occasional* church fellowship with the Reformed Church and some of her daughters. The German District Synods of our General Synod have taken their position on the Galesburg Rule. But that they are, nevertheless, in harmony with the principle of the General Synod can be seen from the reasons which they give for adopting the Galesburg Rule. They are fundamentally different from the arguments of the synods of the extreme Lutheran wing. They do not base their rule on those passages: "A man that is an heretic

.... reject," and "avoid them." The reasons why our German districts disapprove of pulpit and altar fellowship with the Reformed Churches are the following: (1) It is misleading to the congregations, because in most cases an impression is created that existing doctrinal differences are of little importance; and (2) our German Synods, under their conditions, find that such practice breaks down their work. If, for instance, they practice church fellowship with the German Evangelical Synod, our German congregations take it as a suggestion that in a case of vacancy they may also call a minister from that quarter. We have lost large congregations in that way. The position of our Germans in the church fellowship question is about that of the so-called Akron resolutions which read as follows: (1) The rule is: Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only. Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only. (2) The exceptions to the rule belong to the sphere of privilege, not of right. (3) The determination of the exceptions is to be made in consonance with these principles, by the conscientious judgment of pastors, as they arise.

Our German brethren feel that this position can only be taken in full harmony with the principle of the General Synod to recognize the Reformed denominations as churches that have a right to exist. We should not fellowship with the other churches in such a manner as to practically deny the doctrines for which our Church stands, nor should we do anything to create the impression as if the points of difference between us were of no importance. But I will admit that there are cases where we can preach in other pulpits without betraying the truth committed to our care. Julius Stahl, the able defender of the Lutheran Church in Prussia against the Union, says, "I have heard the Lutherans Harless and Loche preach in the pulpit of the Reformed minister Krafft, and again have I seen Krafft with his powerful message in the Lutheran pulpit, for the last time at the jubilee in Erlangen." (*Lutherische Kirche und Union*, 2d ed., p. 437). A compromise of their confessional position could not be expected of such staunch Lutherans as Harless and Loche. Such are not isolated cases, but frequent occurrences even in the strictly Lutheran provinces of the Fatherland. Of course, the question of fellowshiping at the altar has always been regarded

a little different by the Lutherans in Germany. Here where we have the culmination of divine service, the Lutheran Church has always been especially careful that such only who can agree in the doctrine of the sacrament should commune together; and she would not admit such from other churches who consciously reject the Lutheran conception. When Luther and Melanchthon at Marburg were in conference with Zwingli and his adherents, the Swiss reformers suggested the celebration of the communion before parting. But Luther and Melanchthon both regretted that they could not. Because of Luther's remark: "Ye have another spirit than we," it has often been thought that it must have been a stormy conference. But it was not. In recent investigations¹² it has been pointed out in what a peaceful mood especially Luther was. In all his letters, for instance to his wife, he is full of hope for a perfect union. Yet his conscience forbids him the celebration of the communion, because an agreement has not yet been reached. The mild Melanchthon takes the same position and wonders in his correspondence and can not explain it to his own satisfaction why the Zwinglians wanted a celebration of the communion in spite of the failure to reach an agreement on this very doctrine.¹³ I quote this simply to show historically that this conviction, on which there has been so much discussion, existed in our Church from the beginning. This was in 1529. And in 1536 there was another occasion when Luther showed exactly the same attitude. Not before an agreement had been reached with Bucer and the others from Strassburg, in the Wittenberg Concord, did Luther celebrate with them the Lord's Supper. And turning some leaves of history, let me point to another man whom we will be inclined to regard as an authority on this question because we know that he was not narrow, but had a wide and warm heart for all children of God. I mean Spener. These are his words, "Because the communion with a congregation includes that one approves of the doctrine of this same congregation especially in the article of such sacrament.... therefore I can not see how we can take the communion in those churches whose doctrine of the

¹² Comp. Schubert in the *Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte* 1908, p. 354.

¹³ *Realencyclopædie*, 3rd ed., XII, 254. Corp. Ref. II, 1108.

communion we ourselves believe and profess not to be correct, thus giving one testimony with our mouth and another with our act. Therefore is this doctrine the most manifest partition-wall between the two churches. How can we then have a communion (*gemeines Mahl*) together?¹⁴ Of course, it must be admitted, that even regarding the Lord's Supper¹⁵ cases must be considered individually. There may be good Lutherans outside of the Lutheran Church who happen to be in other churches, but who are one with us in faith, and who, even if they can not give a clear definition of our doctrine, yet do not object to the Real Presence and positively regard the Lord's Supper as a means of grace. But the conscientious minister feels that there is something wrong if some of the communicants believe in the Real Presence of the glorified God-Man and his body to be given to the penitent and believing soul for the forgiveness of sins, and others positively reject such doctrine, holding that the elements are nothing but remembrances of an absent Savior and symbols of a grace received before, or that may be received sometime in the future. Such would be no real communion. And I am glad that the General Synod, in the adoption of her "Ministerial Acts" in 1899 in York, omitted that general invitation to all members of other churches in good standing or to all who love the Lord Jesus, which adorned our old formulas as expressions of indifferentism in so important a doctrine.

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14 *Letzte theologische Bedenken* II, 43 seq., III, 81. 83 seq.

15 Do not overlook that Spener speaks of Lutherans seeking the communion in other churches.

ARTICLE III.

THE PROPHET AMOS.

BY REV. HENRY W. A. HANSON.

THE BOOK OF AMOS.

Our knowledge of the prophet Amos is derived entirely from the book which bears his name. In the Hebrew Canon we find it placed third. in the Septuagint second, among the minor prophets. The text of the book is one of the best preserved of the prophetic books. The number of passages disputed by modern criticism is comparatively small.

The book of Amos merits particular attention since it is here that we find in their original freshness all of the fundamental truths emphasized by the later prophets.¹

The influence of the message of Amos upon subsequent prophets is frequently traceable through similarity of expression. Yet as President Harper suggests,² we find the more marked traces of that influence in their attitude "In standing aloof from the great body of the so-called prophets in their respective periods; in adopting the method of writing down their utterances; in the continued development of the sermonic discourse introduced by him; in following the fashion of directing a certain part of their attention to the foreign nations; in basing their work on the fundamental doctrine of national judgment as presented by Amos; in holding up and completing the new ideas propounded by Amos concerning God and his ethical demands upon humanity." In the book of Ecclesiasticus (B. C. 190-170)³ mention is made of the "twelve prophets," from which we infer that the author knew of the prophet Amos. In the book of Tobit (first or second century B. C.)⁴ we read: "Then I remembered and washed myself and ate my meat in heaviness,

¹ Cornill—"Einleitung in d. Kanon." Bücher d. A. T. s. 204.

² Com. on Amos and Hosea, p. 137 of the Introduction.

³ Schürer—"Gesch. des Jüdischen Volkes in za. Jesu Christ." 3 aufl. Band III, s. 159.

⁴ Ditto, p. 176.

remembering the prophecy of Amos, as he said, Your feasts shall be turned into mourning, and all your mirth into lamentation." (Tob. 2:5-6, see Amos 8:10).

New Testament quotations from the book of Amos are as follows: Acts 7:42 from Am. 5:25. Acts 15:16 from 9:11. Rev. 10:7 (c and d) from Am. 3:7. The Septuagint rendering of Amos 4:13 is indirectly quoted seven times in the book of Revelation as follows: In Rev. 11:17; 15:3; 16:7; 16:14; 19:6; 19:15; and 21:22.

THE AGE.

The period of Israel's history within which the ministry of Amos falls can be definitely fixed, thanks to the preciseness of the superscription of the book. It was in the days of Uzziah, (c. 801-749 B. C.), and of Jeroboam II (c. 804-763 B. C.), probably about the year 760 B. C., when the shepherd of Tekoa entered upon his prophetic activity.⁵ The dating of the book is made yet more precise by the last clause of the superscription: "Two years before the earthquake." The natural inference, in reading these lines, is, that the prophet looks back upon the event as one occupying a vivid place in the memory of his age. The earthquake is referred to, not merely as a phenomenon of rare occurrence, but probably, in this case, because of its exceptional violence.⁶

CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS.

Israel was no longer dominated by foreign influence as we find it in the Tell Amarna period. The development of a national policy had gone hand in hand with the unfolding of a national life. Israel had long since become a people with traditions, prin-

⁵ Prof. Kirkpatrick suggests in "The Doctrine of the Prophets," p. 82, "We shall not be far wrong if we place the ministry of Amos in the second half of Jeroboam's reign."

⁶ That such is the case is rendered extremely probable by the additional reference found in Zech. 14:5—"Ye shall flee, like as ye fled from before the face of the earthquake in the days of Uzziah the king of Judah." Reference to this catastrophe is found in Josephus, (Antiquities of the Jews, Book 9, Chapt. 10, sec. 4), who attributes it to the king's sacrilege in usurping the priestly office.

ciples and a spirit of its own. During the reign of Jehoahaz (c. 815-798 B. C.), the northern kingdom suffered severe reverses. Hazael of Damascus conquered all of the district east of the Jordan and pushed his conquests across the Jordan into the territory of Manasseh (2 Kings 10:32-33). He captured Gath (2 Kings 17:12), and Jerusalem was saved only at the expense of the temple and palace treasures, with which Jehoash staid the conqueror's approach (2 Kings 12-18). The national resources and vigor were reduced to such a low ebb that it seemed for a time as though very little was needed to annihilate the tottering regime (2 Kings 13:7-22). An idea of Israel's military strength at this time can be gathered from the statement that there were left to Jehoahaz, the king, "but 50 horsemen, 10 chariots, and 10,000 footmen, for the king of Syria destroyed them." (2 Kings 13:7). To render matters all the more foreboding there came, at this time, a revival of Asherah worship. (2 Kings 13:6). Israel seemed hopelessly adrift politically, socially and religiously.

The king, we read in 2 Kings 13:4-5, placed the needs of the land in prayer before Jehovah and besought him that Israel's curse might be removed. In answer to his prayer we read that God raised up a Saviour who delivered them from Syrian oppression.⁷

In Jehoash, son of Jehoahaz, Israel possessed a ruler of unusual ability. A suggestive glimpse of his reign is found in combining 2 Kings 13:10-25 and 2 Kings 14:8-16 (see also 2 Ch. 25:17-24). Taking advantage of the suspension of hostilities on the part of Damascus, he so developed the resources of Israel that we later find him defeating Benhadad III, son of Hazael in three distinct campaigns; thereby regaining for Israel all of the territory lost during the disastrous reign of his father Jehoahaz. (2 Kings 13:25).

⁷ The reference is to Rimmon Nirari, king of Assyria (812-783 B. C.), who plundered Damascus in 805 B. C., thus putting an end to its tyrannous rule over Israel. "I marched against (the land of) asses) Damascus, and shut up Mari' the king of Damascus, in his capitol city: the fear of the splendor of Asur his Lord struck him to the ground—he embraced my feet and surrendered himself. 2300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3000 talents of copper, 5000 talents of iron, variegated garments, clothing materials, a bed of ivory, a sedan-chair with ivory frame-work, his goods and countless possessions, I seized in his residence, Damascus, in the midst of his palace." Inscription of Rimmon-Nirari 111. See Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Band 1, S. 191.

In the third year of the reign of Jehoash, Amaziah succeeded his father Joash as king of Judah. Amaziah's rule was characterized by an aggressive policy. Edom had enjoyed independence since the days of Jehoram (849-842 B. C.). Living in the clefts about their capitol Sela, they seemed safe from invasion. Their capitol was situated about 70 miles south of the Dead Sea in the heart of a district approachable only by the most difficult mountain climbing. Located as they were, it was but natural that they should boast of their safety from all attack, and that they should defy their enemies to conquer them. (Obad. 1:3). Even so perilous an undertaking did not cause Amaziah to hesitate. Securing 100,000 mercenaries from Israel (2 Ch. 25:6), he plunged into the mountain defiles of the Edomites, defeated their army, plundered their city, confiscated their wealth and seized their gods. Ten thousand prisoners he brutally hurled over the precipices and "broke to pieces." (2 Kings 14:7 and 2 Ch. 25:11-12).

But before the campaign against Edom had been fairly launched, a "man of God" came to Amaziah and counselled him to send back the 100,000 mercenaries, giving as his reason that "Jehovah is not with Israel, to wit, with all the children of Ephraim." (2 Ch. 25:7). The advice was followed and the men of Israel were instructed to return to their land. Enraged at such capricious treatment the men of Israel returned in "fierce anger"—they fell upon the cities along their route and plundered them. Three thousand cities of Judah we are told, were laid waste by this enraged band of lawless soldiery. (2 Ch. 25:13). As soon as the conquest of Edom was accomplished Amaziah turned his attention to avenging this act of rapine. It proved a very unfortunate step for Judah. Jehoash, busily engaged in developing the resources of his realm was very loath to enter upon any unnecessary military projects. But Amaziah's insistence drew him into the field. The army of Judah was utterly overthrown and Jehoash, following up the victory, pushed on and captured Jerusalem. The city was plundered, the temple sacked, and, in order to insure Judah's future fidelity to its treaty of peace with Israel, hostages were taken. (2 Ch. 25:24).

The touching scenes surrounding the close of Elisha's life (2 Kings 13:14-20), make it difficult for us to understand the state-

ment which sums up the sixteen years of Jehoash's reign with the words, "And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord." (2 Kings 13:11). As Elisha lies upon his death bed, the king Jehoash comes to him for a farewell blessing. He weeps over his approaching death, and likens the dying prophet to "the chariot and horsemen of Israel"—its glory and strength. He comes to the prophet as to one with whom he was on the best of terms. That he might rest within the reach of any cooling breath of air that stirred, his couch had been placed near the lattice window. Elisha bids the king throw open the window and bend his bow—his own feeble hands were laid upon those of the king and he bade him shoot. Three times the king bent his bow and sent an arrow winging its way through the air—then he stopped; alas all too soon! The arrows had been the sign of approaching deliverance—each one shot had been a pledge or prophesy of victory—Syria was now to be thrice defeated but not crushed.

Thus we see Jehoash collecting the scattered forces of Israel, defeating its hostile neighbors, thereby affording its resources opportunity to recuperate. About the year 804 B. C., king Jehoash died, leaving the realm in the hands of his son Jeroboam, II, under whom Israel reached a degree of prosperity and splendor unequalled since the days of Solomon.

Syria had been crippled through the campaigns of Shalmaneser III, and Assurdan. Uzziah of Judah, a king of no mean ability, was too busy resuscitating his wasted land to think of waging war with Israel—then too Judah's hostages were still at the court of Jeroboam! Assyria, after enjoying a period of unwonted vigor and achievement, began to decline. Its feeble home rule^s rendered it impossible for Assyria to direct very much attention along the Mediterranean coast. Phoenecia weakened by the attacks of Assyria, was now rent with civil strife. Under the 22nd (Libyan) Dynasty—945 to 745 B. C.—a process of disintegration was at work in Egypt which eventually reduced what had once been a world power, to a nation made up of petty States. During this period Egypt was rent with internecine strife and could not interfere with Syrian affairs.

^s This condition of affairs existed from the death of Rimmon-Nirari 111 (B. C. 783), to the year 745 when Pul or Tiglath-pileser III seized the throne.

Israel was left to enjoy an epoch of peace. The prizes of war and the profits of commerce brought riches and ease. But while an age of outward splendor, prosperity brought with it a train of evils which eventually caused a national collapse. The soldiers returning home with habits demoralized by their life in camp were unfit for the quiet life of home. The government, held together by the strong hand of Jeroboam, was in reality tottering to decay. The princes were but dissipated weaklings—the laws of the land were flagrantly violated (Amos 2:8), and the courts of justice became courts of shame—justice going to the highest bidder. (Amos 5:7-12).

The rich had their Summer and Winter palaces (Amos 3:15), furnished with all the splendor of royalty (Amos 3:15; 5:11; 6:4). Here amid the soft strains of music, the delicate perfumes, and the coarsest sensuality, they carried on their unseemly debauches. (Amos 6:4-6). The great public festivals were marked by disgraceful orgies. (Hos. 7:5). Nor were the women of the land more moral or refined. (Amos 4:1). Along with sensuality there came the passion for wealth—the rich became the terrible task-masters of their age. The judges and courts were controlled by them; where other methods failed, a bribe sufficed to give them their desire. (Amos 2:6). So far did they carry their high-handed arrogance that they “sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes.”⁹ False weights were everywhere in use. (Amos 8:4). The picture in the so-called upper class becomes all the more repulsive when one recalls that while such arrogant godlessness filled the land, the New Moons and Sabbath festivals were regularly observed—the sacrifices and burnt offerings abounded (Amos 2:8), and the temple coffers were faithfully remembered. (Amos 7:13).

The conditions among the poor were intolerable. It is interesting how frequently the words *poor* and *needy* recur in the nine short chapters of the book of Amos.¹⁰ Hounded by the rich and denied justice in the courts, the lot of the poor was but little bet-

⁹ The significance of this statement of the prophet is not that at first the judges sold the innocent as slaves for silver, and later became so depraved that they would sell a righteous for a pair of shoes, but rather, for silver (i. e., a bribe), a judge would betray an innocent party, and for a debt as small as a pair of shoes, would sell a man into slavery.

¹⁰ 2:6-7; 4:1; 5:11; 8:4-6; etc.

ter than slavery. The corruption found in the upper class naturally filtered down through the submerged class. Immorality became so gross that the moral sense of the nation seemed entirely atrophied. Nothing was more repugnant to them than to be censured, or have their attention directed to their sad plight. (Amos 5:10).

But where were the prophets? Where were those great defenders of national righteousness in this hour of need?

No field of Old Testament study is more fascinating than that of prophecy. The more closely one studies the forces at work in Israel and Judah and their environment, the more evident is it that, without the prophets the people of Israel would have wandered off into the sins of their day, and have gone down in the general ruin that swallowed up their neighbors. Throughout the Old Testament reference is continually made to various "Schools of Prophets." In endeavoring to form an idea of the general nature and purpose of these schools, we have alas very few definite facts to build on. There are, however, interesting observations which afford a general conception of their character. We first hear of the School of Prophets in the time of Samuel (1 Sam. 10:5-12), when we read of a company (Hebr. hebel) of them coming down from high places in Gibeah, "with a psaltery, a tabret, a pipe and a harp." Whether they dwelt on the high place and were associated with it, we are not told—the inference is rather that they had come in a body to worship at the high place and were now returning to their quarters. In 1 Sam. 19:18 and 20:1, we learn of a district in Ramah termed "Naioth," wherein David sought refuge from Saul—we are further told in 1 Sam. 19:20 that over the company of prophets found here, Samuel presided "as one appointed over them." If Ewald's rendering of Naioth, as *schools*, is tenable¹¹ we find here a settlement or seminary of prophets under the leadership of Samuel. Similar companies of prophets are mentioned as located in Bethel (2 Kings 2:3), Jerico (2 Kings 2:5), and Gilgal (2 Kings 4:38). The number of those connected with these associations naturally varied—50 prophets were in Jericho at

¹¹ To this Driver takes exception. See Hastings Dict. Bible, art. on Naioth. Rendered *habitations* in Brown, Driver, Briggs, "Hebr. Eng. Lexicon," but marked *dubious*.

the close of Elijah's career (2 Kings 2:7 & 16), and a short while before 100 are found in Gilgal (2 Kings 4:38). Obadiah is said to have hidden 100 in caves to shield them from the fury of Jezebel. (1 Kings 18:4).

In these prophetic fellowships we find cenobitism, but not celibacy—nor was even cenobitism essential. (Kings 4:1). Among them there were young men (2 Kings 9:4), married men (2 Kings 4:1), as well as men of ripe old age. The prophet, in manner of dress and mode of life, was distinct from the people. Elijah's dress is described as a rough mantle of hair, goat or camel's, with a leather girdle. From Zech. 13:4, and Matt. 3:4, we are led to infer that such was the characteristic dress of the prophets.

The office was not hereditary—selection to it seems to have rested entirely upon a direct call from God. Such is explicitly stated in the case of all the canonical prophets except Daniel, Nahum, Habbakuk and Malachi. The selection of Elisha by Elijah is the only instance on record in which a prophet selected his successor, and in that case it was done in obedience to a direct command of God. (2 Kings 19:16).

These prophetic bands were supported by voluntary contributions. At stated times, such as the New Moons, Sabbath Days, etc., and in times of great distress or need, the people resorted to them.¹² In the northern kingdom the influence and wealth of the prophetic schools was greatly increased, as they served as a substitute for a legitimate sanctuary.¹³

The influence of the prophetic schools on the nation's life and character cannot be overestimated. In the decline of Israel under the vacillating rule of Ahab, prophetic influence went so far as to overthrow the reigning dynasty of Omri. (1 Kings 19:6).

Thus we find the prophetic schools settlements or associations of prophets, presided over by some prophet of note.¹⁴ To consider them schools of learning in which those called to the prophetic office were assigned a definite course of study as a preparation for their subsequent career, does not involve an im-

¹² At such times it was the custom to present the prophet with some gift. See 1 Sam. 9:8 and 1 K. 14:3.

¹³ See Oehler's "O. T. Theology," sec. 174, also 2 K. 4:42.

¹⁴ See Marti, "Geschichte d. Israel. Religion (vierte Aufl.) S. 121.. Stade, "Bibl. Theol. des Alten Testaments" S. 131.

possible strengthening of the imagination. In fact a consideration of the case may be said to lend a strong probability to this view. Here music was studied as a mode of expressing the religious emotions, as well as a means of rendering one capable of best receiving divine revelations. (1 Sam. 10:5). One cannot but feel, too, that Israel's past, and the noble characters it produced, occupied a most important place in their study and meditation. From these centers, where fellowship kept aglow their zeal for Jehovah, they went forth, singly or in numbers, to proclaim some message or to minister to the spiritual needs of the people. Those connected with these guilds or associations, were known as *Bene nabiim* or *Sons of the prophets*.

What Amos meant, therefore, by his declaration at Bethel: "I was no prophet neither was I the son of a prophet," was simply that he was in no way affiliated with any association of prophets.

Protected from severe scrutiny because of the prevalent superstition, and possessed of power and plenty, prophesy became an office rather than a calling. The high ideals of their mission were so forgotten that we find them maintained in companies as royal parasites. (1 Kings 22:6). Priests and prophets reeled in drunkenness and were contaminated with the worst vices of the age.

Hence it is that we find the schools of prophets supplanted as vehicles of divine revelation, and in their stead come those noble characters in whose messages we find the greatest heights of religious truth to be found in any country in pre-Christian times.

THE MAN.

Ten miles south of Jerusalem—five miles south of Bethlehem—perched upon a rocky summit 2700 feet high, was the little Judean town of Tekoa. In the Septuagint we find it mentioned as one of the cities belonging to Judah enumerated at some length in the fifteenth chapter of Joshua—but in the Hebrew text, in loco, we find no mention of the name. However, in Chronicles 2:24 and 4:5, Tekoa is mentioned as one of the cities

of the period of the Judges: Ashur, half-brother of Caleb, being its founder. (1 Ch. 2:18-24).

Recalling the incidents recorded in the fourteenth chapter of 2 Chronicles concerning the wise woman of Tekoa—also that it was here that David gathered his company of heroes (2 Ch. 23:26; 1 Ch. 11:28), we are led to believe that Tekoa enjoyed a most enviable distinction. Situated as it was, it always afforded the fugitive a safe retreat. Here David was sheltered from vindictive Saul, and here Simon and Jonathan fled, after the death of Judas Maccabaeus, to escape the Syrian general Bacchides. (Josephus, *Ant.* 13:1-2 and 1 *Mac.* 9:33). Rehoboam selected Tekoa as a place of strategic importance in fortifying the land against foreign invasion (2 Ch. 11:6), subsequent rulers seemed to share in this conviction, for in the time of Jeremiah we find this stronghold still preserved as one of the national defenses. (Jer. 6:1).

For some reason Tekoa is not given in the list of places re-peopled by those of the return under Ezra (Ez. 2)—although we find the Tekoites working side by side with the others in restoring the walls of Jerusalem. (Neh. 3:5-27).

Tekoa is surrounded by miles of lifeless waste. Perhaps the most vivid picture we have of the surroundings is that given by George Adam Smith in his epoch-making work on the *Historical Geology of the Holy Land.*: "The strata were contorted; ridges ran in all directions; distant hills to the north and south looked like gigantic dust heaps, those near we could see to be torn as if by water-spouts. When we were not stepping on detritus, the limestone was blistered and peeling. Often the ground sounded hollow; sometimes rock and sand and rock slipped in large quantities from the tread of the horses; sometimes the living rock was bare and jagged, especially in the frequent gullies, that therefore glowed and beat with heat like furnaces." Far above this rolling waste towered Tekoa. Owing to the impoverished condition of the soil, which rendered it unfit for agricultural purposes, the inhabitants turned their attention to cattle raising, especially sheep raising. As to the size and relative importance of the place there are no data; but one finds it difficult, on the very face of the matter, to suppose Tekoa the source

of all ancient Israelitic life and culture, as does Prof. Cheyne in the *Encyclopedia Biblica*.

The view from Tekoa is one that naturally produces a meditative frame of mind. To the north, just beyond the horizon, was Jerusalem, to the east the Dead Sea, to the west the Mediterranean, but as far as the eye could see there was only the rolling hills. Such are the surroundings amid which we find the home of the prophet Amos.

FAMILY.

The fact that his father's name is not mentioned,¹⁵ and that no reference is made to his family, seems to indicate that Amos was not a member of a distinguished family—though it is possible that the same spirit which made him come out so boldly as a member of no association of prophets, might lead him to come too, “without father and mother”—without any recommendation except the divine message which he bore.

OCCUPATION.

The prophet's occupation was that of a *noked* (or shepherd), a designation occurring in only one other passage of Scripture (2 Kings 3:4), where it is used in connection with the king of Moab. There is no occasion for inferring because of his occupation, Amos was in meagre circumstances—in the *Illiad* two of Priam's sons are spoken of as *shepherds* of their father's sheep. (*Illiad*, bk. 11). The sheep belonged to an unusual species of very unseemly creatures, which, though of ugly proportions, were kept for their wool.

We see then in Amos, a herdman or wool-grower, not a mere keeper of sheep, but a shepherd of comfortable means, who, when he desired, could journey off and leave his flock in the care of underlings. (Amos 7:14-15).

In connection with wool-raising, Amos was a “dresser of Sycamores.” The sycamore—not to be confused with the tree known by that name in our country—is closely akin to the fig tree. It develops usually into a tree covering quite an ample space with

¹⁵ Compare with Jer. 1:1; Ez. 1:3; Hos. 1:1; Joel 1:1; etc.

its wide-spreading limbs. The fruit produced is very similar to the fig, though not so palatable. In order to facilitate its ripening, and improve its flavor, the ripening fruit was punctured.¹⁶ Whether Amos was engaged in puncturing the fruit, tending the trees, or collecting the fruit and disposing of it to the trade, it is not possible to determine. The word used in this connection is derived from the Hebr. *balam*, renders any one of the above suggestions possible and all alike plausible. We shall not be far wrong if we regard the prophet as one who owned a grove of sycamore trees in connection with his flock, and who superintended and assisted in their cultivation and in placing the fruit on the market.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT.

Amid such environment one finds many things conducive to the intense convictions, the bold originality, and the striking imagery of the prophetic message. Life here in the desert developed the sterner side of human nature. Away from the distractions and confusion of larger communities, he was left alone with God in a solitude where "undisturbed and uninfluenced from without, the mind follows every train of thought to the end, and examines and exhausts every feeling to its finest shades. The senses have but little to attract them, consequently the mind seeks refuge by turning its attention inward and upward." Schooled in the solemn stillness of the wilderness, "in the lonely vastness" of the desert, amid its dangers and its questions, Amos' soul was a fit dwelling place for the profounder problems of human existence.¹⁷ But we mistake the facts in the case, if we picture the prophet as living the life of a recluse, out of all personal touch with the world. A very essential part of his occupation was the placing of his wares upon the market—this would lead him to journey, twice a year at least, to the various commercial centers.¹⁸ Such a mission would take him not only to the cities of Judah, but to the cities of the northern

¹⁶ See art. in Hastings' Dict. of Bible on Sycamore, by G. E. Post.

¹⁷ Compare Moses, David, Elijah, Paul, etc.

¹⁸ So Guthe, "Vorlesungen uber Amos" winter semester, 1904-1905. Also Geo. Adam Smith, "Minor Prophets" vol. 1, p. 79.

kingdom, as well—perhaps, even as far as Damascus. At such times his mind trained to observe, would naturally be confronted with the religious decadence everywhere so evident. The needs of his age were burnt into his very soul; then in the quietness of his desert home these problems were explored—thus the *external call* was preparing the way for a full appreciation of the *internal call*. The intellectual grasp of Amos will always remain a puzzle, even though we remember that “Among the Hebrews as in the Arabian desert, knowledge and oratory were not affairs of professional education, or dependent for their cultivation on wealth or social status. The sum of book learning was very small—shrewd observation, a memory retentive of traditional lore, and the faculty of original reflection took the place of laborious study as the ground of acknowledged intellectual pre-eminence.”¹⁹

SCENE OF PREACHING.

No city in the northern kingdom possessed more hallowed memories than Bethel. It was in existence when Abraham came up from his Chaldean home in Ur to dwell in the land of Canaan. (Gen. 12:8). After his sojourn in Egypt, during the famine that swept over Palestine, we find Abraham pitching his tent in the vicinity of Bethel. (Gen. 13:3). But it was with the life of Jacob that Bethel was most intimately associated—it was here that the weary fugitive rested his head upon a pillow of stones and saw visions of Jehovah. Henceforth it became more and more a place regarded as peculiarly sacred. “It was the haunt of angels”—it was a spot to which Jehovah was stragely near and where he from time to time revealed his presence.²⁰ During the period of the Judges we find Bethel an important center of the religious life of the northern tribes—well defined roads or highways led to it from the various places of importance. (Judges 21:19). It was to Bethel that the people came to offer their sacrifices and to consult the will of God. (Judges 20:18 and 21:2). In the period of the United Kingdom Bethel was overshadowed in the religious life of the nation by Jerusalem.

¹⁹ W. Robertson Smith, “Prophets of Israel,” p. 126.

²⁰ Benzinger—“Archeologie” S. 313.

David's plan in erecting a *national* sanctuary would naturally tend to make his capitol the religious, as well as political, center of his realm. In an age when religion was largely supplanted, or at least confused with its degenerate half-brother, superstition, such a plan would do much to bridge the chasm which always existed between the northern and southern tribes. Under Solomon the plan was objectively realized, though as far as gaining the affections of the northern tribes is concerned, the venture did not prove a success. The centers of religious life existed as before. With the insurrection under Jeroboam I, there naturally followed the setting up of Bethel and Dan in the affections of the people as a counterpart of, and a substitute for, Jerusalem. As a matter of statesmanship, the royal house must not only secure a decisive break *politically*, but *religiously* as well, in order to give permanence to the northern realm. Hence it was that Bethel became the recipient of royal favors and perquisites, it was known as the royal sanctuary, possessed great wealth and luxury, and maintained a school of prophets. (2 Kings 2:3). The members attached to such religious centers fell naturally under the classification of *officers of the crown*, and as such they shared in the fate (Schicksal) of the reigning house.²¹ (2 Kings 10:11). The king possessed the unquestioned right of elevating or deposing from the priesthood.²² In the light of such conditions it becomes very obvious why priests and prophets became such inefficient ministers to the real spiritual needs of the people.

The cup of Israel's iniquity was full—the lions of Nineveh were crouching to spring—ruin was gathering—and still Israel was blind. The people had gathered to worship and feast in Bethel—the royalty was there—the princes and the rulers were there—the rich and the judges whom their bribes had bought, were there. Probably the poor, too, had gathered to enjoy so great an event. Amid their festivities came this strange shepherd of Tekoa, not fawning for royal favor, not lulling them into a death sleep with false hopes, but freely and fearlessly applying the lash of justice upon the backs of rich and poor, great and small. Not even the king was spared! Opposition was soon

²¹ Benzinger's "Archeologie" S. 332.

²² See Benzinger as above, S. 349; based upon 1 K. 12:31 and 1 K. 13:33.

aroused, an open break occurred between the prophet and one of the priests attached to the royal sanctuary, but after the heated argument, Amos was allowed to continue his message, after which he returned to his desert home. "On reaching home he probably put into writing the substance of his deliverances, and the roll thus written is the earliest book of prophesy that has come down to us."²³

Of the subsequent life of Amos nothing is known. Christian tradition of about the sixth century classifies him among the martyrs: supposing him to have been murdered by a son of Amaziah.

THE MESSAGE.

Chapter I, verse 1, is taken up with an exhaustive superscription which enables us to determine the precise age in which he prophesied.

In verse 2, one is reminded of the vision of the majesty of God given in the 6th chapter of Isaiah. *Jehovah will roar as a lion from Zion, he will thunder forth his voice from Jerusalem*—so great are the power and majesty of Jehovah that at this expression of his anger, *the pastures of the shepherds shall mourn. Carmel*—which has stood for ages long, which rears its proud head over all other hills of the land—Carmel, of all our land the most beautiful and fertile,²⁴ even Carmel—*shall droop and wither*, when Jehovah's anger breaks over us.

In the stirring words of this second verse we find in unsurpassed rhythm, the text or theme to be developed in the book.

GOD'S JUDGMENT ON THE SURROUNDING NATIONS.

Amos was sent to preach to Israel, and he approaches his task with consummate skill. He begins by predicting the downfall of Israel's mortal enemies. This course we have reason to believe he adopted for a two-fold purpose. (1) To gain the attention, confidence and good-will of his hearers. (2) To make his argument against Israel all the more irresistible. These na-

²³ See A. B. Davidson in Hastings D. B. vol. 1, p. 86.

²⁴ Conder's "Handbook," p. 209.

tions, not having prophets to remind them of their duty to God were to be judged because of their sins—what then would be Israel's punishment! The oft recurring, "For three transgressions—and for four," is not used with reference to special transgressions but rather to show that the cup of their iniquity was filled to the brim.

Because of the inhuman cruelties which Damascus inflicted upon Gilead, i. e., the territory lying east of the Jordan (Deut. 3:13; Josh. 13:11 & 31; Nu. 32:29 & 39, etc.), Jehovah will send down upon them a consuming fire.²⁵ They shall be carried away to Kir.²⁶

In the case of Syria its metropolis, Damascus, was selected; so now in pronouncing the ruin of Philistia, Gaza,²⁷ its chief city, was chosen. Here, too, there was a great wrong which stood out prominently in their history. They had carried away captive entire populations, sparing neither age nor sex,²⁸ "to deliver them over to Edom," who, perhaps, as the international slave traders, resold them.

Nor would luxury-loving Tyre²⁹ escape the coming catastrophe—the Phoenecians had closed their hearts to pity, had sold entire communities into slavery and had violated their covenants.³⁰

25 For the Assyrian Account of the fulfillment of this prophesy see note on page 31, Band 2, of *Keilin-Schripliche Bibliothek*.

26 Kir, according to Amos 9:5, was the original home of the Syrians, and according to 2 Kings 16:9, was the place to which they were deported by Tiglath-pileser III.

27 In 710 B. C. Gaza formed a coalition with Sabako, king of Egypt—it was captured by Sargon, king of Assyria, and Hanno, king of Gaza, was brought a prisoner to Assyria. See the Cylinder Inscription of Sargon—*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, p. 43.

28 This is very probably the significance of Amos 1:6 b. Also rendered by Ewald, Welhausen, Nowack, Marti and Harper.

29 Tyre paid tribute to Assyria for centuries, under Assurnazirpal, Shalmaneser II, Tiglath-pileser III, and others. In 726 B. C. we find Shalmaneser IV unsuccessfully attacking Tyre by sea. Sennacherib's campaign in 701 B. C. against Tyre was by no means decisive. Tyre eventually fell in 664 A. D. before the aggressive Assurbanipal. See Annals of Assurbanipal in *Keilinschriftliche Bibl. Band II*.

30 A similar covenant referred to in 1 Kings 5:12.

Edom's³¹ inhumanity has at last run its course—soon would they reap as they had sown.

In the prophetic arrangement of the nations there is a suggestion of the climatic order. Not so much from the standpoint of guilt, for they seemed all alike steeped in the revolting cruelties of their age—but rather, with reference to the animosity with which Israel regarded them. Hence Ammon and Moab³² are next selected. Both were closely akin to the Hebrews and between them there always existed the bitterest hatred. Ju. 3:12-14; 10:7-18; 1 Sam. 11; 2 Sam. 10:3; 2 Chron. 20).

In their wars, in order to reduce the strength of their enemies, the Ammonites had indulged in a form of cruelty not uncommon in the Orient, that of slaying mothers with their unborn children. (2 Kings 8:12). Because of their inhumanity revealed in this crowning brutality—ruin shall overtake them; even the city of their pride, Rabbah, shall not escape, and their king and the nobility shall wear their lives away in captivity. Moab shall fare no better—flames shall devour the palaces of Kerioth; and Moab shall be overthrown amid the shouting and rejoicing of its enemies.

Between Israel and Judah there slumbered a feeling of rivalry which not infrequently brought them into open hostility. (1 Kings 15:16; 2 Kings 14:8-15, 16:5). Hence it was against Judah³³ that the prophet next lifted his voice.

31 We find "Kausmelech of Edom" paying tribute to Tiglath-pileser in 736 B. C. In 711 B. C. Edom united in the widespread coalition of the various Syrian nations with Egypt and Merodachbaladan of Babylon against Sargon, king of Assyria. The league was overthrown and Edom, along with the rest, paid tribute to Sargon. Again in 701 B. C. Edom united in an unsuccessful revolt headed by Hezekiah of Judah.

32 Ammon and Moab were subjugated along with the other people of West Asia. We find them both paying tribute to Assyria during the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.

33 In 732 B. C. Judah was tributary to Assyria. (Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, Keilins. B. Band 2, p. 21.) In 711 B. C. Hezekiah of Judah united in an unsuccessful revolt against Sargon. Again in 701 B. C. Hezekiah refused to remain subject to Assyria and Sennacherib with his victorious troops were soon in front of the walls of Jerusalem. The Egyptian army sent to rescue Jerusalem was totally overthrown. In Sennacherib's inscription we read as follows: "And I besieged 46 walled cities of Hezekiah of Judah who had not surrendered himself to any yoke: the strongholds and small towns in this vicinity, without number....I plundered, 200,150 people, young and old, male and female—horses, beasts of burden, asses, camels, cattle and

Up to this point, chapter II, verse 6, we have but the introduction to that which follows. Now begins the prophet's scathing arraignment of the conditions, religious and social, as they existed in Israel.

Israel's cup of iniquity, too, was running over. "*They have sold the righteous (or, the cause of the righteous) for silver, and the needy for (a debt as small as) a pair of shoes; they pant after the dust of the earth on the heads of the poor, i. e., they long to see the dust of the earth scattered upon the heads of the poor, they delight in seeing the misery of the poor thus indicated.*³⁴ *They turn aside the way of the humble (deprive them of their rights). A man and his father go in to the same young woman, and so profane my name.*³⁵ *They lay themselves down beside every altar upon clothes taken in pledge—such garments according to Ex. 22:26, were to be returned at sun-down. They drink the wine of such as have been fined, i. e., wine purchased with fines unjustly imposed—in the house of their God."*

How painful was the contrast between Israel's condition and the blessing which they had enjoyed. God had brought them up from Egypt, had enabled them to overthrow enemies far stronger than themselves, and had sent messengers to remind them of their duty and trust. Now the day of probation and opportunity was over and the day of judgment was dawning in which the State would totter into ruins and all its inhabitants, from

small cattle, without number, I caused to be taken from them and reckoned them as booty. . . . He himself I shut up like a caged bird in his royal city. . . The fear of the splendor of my majesty overthrew Hezekiah, and Urbi and his brave warriors, whom he had summoned for the defense of his capitol, laid down their arms." Sennacherib's "Prism Inscription" in Keilina. Bibl. Band II. p. 94. We see here no direct statement that Sennacherib captured the city—the language seems evasive. Hence it throws interesting light upon 2 Kings 19:2, Chron 32, and Is. 37 in which we learn of the miracle wrought to save Jerusalem from the hands of the Assyrians. The brilliant reign of Josiah was brought to an end by the fall of the king in the battle against Necho at Megiddo, B. C. 608. From 608 to 605 B. C. Judah was a vassal of Egypt. After the battle of Carchemish the tribute was paid to Assyria instead of Egypt. In 597 B. C. Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem—in 588 B. C. Zedekiah refused to meet the Babylonian demand for tribute, and two years later Nebuchadnezzar again captured and plundered the city and destroyed the temple.

³⁴ So rendered by Orelli, "Kleine Propheten," also Geo. Adam Smith, in "The Minor Prophets."

³⁵ Probably a temple prostitute connected with Astarte worship. See Ewald, "Die Propheten des alten Bundes." Nowack, "Die Kleinen Propheten" and others.

the least to the greatest would be made to taste the curse of Israel's apostasy.

"I will make you groan in your places as the threshing wagon, filled with sheaves, makes the floor groan."³⁶ Flight shall perish from the swift, the strong shall not be able to use his strength; the mighty shall not deliver his life nor shall he stand who handles the bow; he that is swift of foot shall not save himself, neither shall the horseman save his life; the most valiant among the mighty shall flee away naked in that day saith Jehovah."

Strange must all this have sounded to the ease-loving, morally-callous throngs assembled for the feast. Not since the days of the United Kingdom had Israel known such prosperity; the State seemed vigorous and safe. Nor was the coming storm to result in a mere change of dynasties as at the fall of Ahab—now the entire nation was to be crushed. There was to be no respect of persons.

Chapter III.—In the first two verses there is briefly summed up the cause of the impending judgment. Israel had been chosen for a definite work—the advantages which they had enjoyed, the revelation they had been given—the experiences through which they had passed—all of these things were but the means by which Jehovah had been training and developing them. These blessings were not soft cushions upon which to pillow slumbering consciences—they were not given to induce moral and spiritual lethargy. Their privileges entailed responsibilities.

So grievous was Israel's deflection, that the heathen neighbors are called in as witnesses. Egypt and Ashdod³⁷ are summoned to Samaria—they are by no means weak, and can tolerate much, yet even they would be amazed at the mad extravagance and flagrant injustices of those who worshipped in Samaria.

Therefore, thus saith the Lord Jehovah, *"An enemy shall surround the land; thy strength shall be stripped from thee; and*

³⁶ This rendering suggested by Hoffman in "Die Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft," 1883—3,100 best conveys the prophet's meaning.

³⁷ Winckler and Marti and others prefer, according to the *LLX*, *b'ashur* instead of *b'ashdod*—thus the summons would be to Egypt on the one hand, and Assyria, on the other.

thy palaces shall be plundered." So complete will be the ruin that, as the shepherd finds but two legs or a piece of an ear of the sheep that has fallen into the claws of the lion, so shall there be left of Israel, but the miserable remnant.

The altars of Bethel, a favorite religious center and the royal sanctuary (Amos 7:10; 4:4; 5:5; Hos. 4:14, etc), *would God visit in his wrath—the horns of the altar shall be struck off³⁸ and shall fall to the ground. And I will smite the winter house and the summer house—the houses of ivory—i. e., whose walls were ornamented with inlaid ivory, an evidence of great luxury (1 Kings 22:39), and many houses shall perish.* The coming catastrophe shall transform the entire land into a mass of ruins.

In verses 3-8, we find the prophet pausing to give an account of the call which made him the messenger of Jehovah. The call is given in four vivid strophes.

Does a lion roar in the forest, when there is no prey?

Does a young lion cry out of his den, if he have taken nothing?

Does a bird fall to the ground if there is no snare?

Does a snare fly up from the ground without taking anything?

Does a trumpet sound³⁹ in the city, and the people not tremble?

Does misfortune befall a city, and Jehovah not have caused it?

Leading up to the strophe which serves as the climax there is the conviction expressed that "the Lord will do nothing (as a punishment) except he reveal his secret to his servants the prophets." Now this has been the case:

"The lion hath roared, who will not fear?

The Lord Jehovah has spoken, who can but prophesy?"

Chapter 4.—In the first three verses we have the judgment

³⁸ An essential part of every altar were the four horns—one at each corner. Their precise significance is not altogether clear—perhaps they were symbols of divine power, which would account for the idea of refuge attached to them. (1 K. 1:50, etc.) This seems more plausible than the idea suggested by Oehler. "O. T. Theo. p. 255 and 256," that the horns were the highest points of the altar and hence the parts nearest heaven. The altar from which the horns had been broken, was a desecrated altar. Stade, "Biblische Theologie d. Alten Testament," S. 118, Marti, "Geschichte d. Israelitische Religion," S. 35.

³⁹ A warning that danger is near. Ez. 33:3; Jer. 6:1.

pronounced on the depraved womanhood of Israel. They, like the kine of Bashan,⁴⁰ have no higher purpose in life than to eat and drink. In their craving for debauchery and prodigality they urged on their husbands in their oppression of the needy, in order to provide for their extravagances. Nor will Jehovah overlook or fail to bring upon their heads the curse of their sin. No! "*The Lord Jehovah hath sworn by his holiness, that days shall come upon you when you will be taken away with hooks, even the last of you with fish hooks.*"⁴¹

And you shall go out through the breaches (made by the enemies as they burst through the walls), every one straight before her, and ye shall be cast toward Harmon, saith Jehovah."

Go to your holy places Bethel and Gilgal and cover up your godlessness with ritualistic righteousness, for so you delight to do.

Verses 6-11. Warnings.—God's judgment is not sudden in its coming—harbingers have fore-tokened the impending catastrophe. Famine, drought, pestilence, and war has God sent to stir Israel out of its lethargy. But it would not listen! The period of privilege was over; the time for rendering an account had come.

Verses 12-13.—Therefore, "*Prepare to meet thy God O Israel.*" Who is this God? *Behold he is the fashioner of the mountains and the creator of the winds. He reveals unto man his thoughts; he maketh the dawn and darkness and walketh upon the high places of the earth."*

Chapter V.—Lamentation over Israel, v. 1-3 and 16-20.—So sure is the prophet of the truth of his predictions that he views them as already fulfilled. "*The virgin of Israel has fallen, she shall rise no more; she lies forsaken upon her own floor, and there is none to raise her up.*" So crushing shall be the blow that the city⁴² which went forth a thousand, i. e., that sends

⁴⁰ District east of Jordan famous for its oak forests (Jer. 2:13) and fattened cattle.

⁴¹ As captives of course—led like cattle with rings in their noses. So Geo. Adam Smith, "Minor Prophets," Karl Marti, "Dodeka Propheten."

⁴² Cities had supplanted families and tribes as the unit of military enrollment. The army was divided into divisions of a thousand; a hundred and fifty—each having its proper officer. I. Benzinger, "Hebräische Archæologie," Zweite aufl. S. 299.

forth a thousand warriors to battle, shall have but one hundred left: the city that sends out its hundred shall have but ten to return. *The day of the Lord!* Why does Israel turn longing eyes toward it? To them it shall be a day of "*darkness not of light.*" "*Wailing shall be in all of thy broad ways, and they shall say in all the streets, alas! alas! and they shall call the husbandman to mourning and such as are skillful in lamentation to wailing. In all the vineyards shall there be wailing for I will pass through the midst of thee, saith Jehovah.*" Nor will it be possible for any to escape. For it will be "*as if a man did flee from a lion and a bear met him; or went into the house and leaned his hand against the wall and a serpent bit him.*"

It is in this chapter that Amos most bitterly denounces the merely ritualistic in religion. With this denunciation he unites an appeal for national reformation which, in fervor and eloquence, is unsurpassed in the entire Old Testament.

Israel had allowed itself to become so engrossed in the externals of religion that in their blindness they "wist not that Jehovah had departed from them." As the form of the mountain is reflected on the surface of the lake at its foot, so how frequently in the vivid pictures of the heroic man of Tekoa do we find reflected the beautiful and sublime of a shepherd's life!

"*Ye who turn justice to wormwood and cast down righteousness to the earth, seek him who maketh the Pleides and Orion, who changes darkness into morning, and darkens the day into night; who calleth the waters of the sea and poureth them upon the face of the earth, Jehovah is his name: who causeth destruction to burst upon the strong, and ruin upon the stronghold.*" Nor did the torpid hearts of Israel care to be told the truth. "*Him who reproves (injustice) at the gate⁴³ they hate, and him who speaketh honestly they abhor.*" Jehovah has seen it all. Inasmuch as they have trampled upon the poor, extorted exorbitant grain taxes, and have covered up their injustices in the court with bribes—the houses of hewn stone, and the pleasant vineyards which such measures had brought them, they should never be permitted to enjoy. There was but one way of escape open to them, it was to "*Hate the evil, love the good, and estab-*

⁴³ Where the people met for judgment and the conduct of legal, or other public business. Deut. 22:15; Ruth 4:1, etc.; 1 K. 22:10.

lish justice in the gate"—only thus is Jehovah's favor to be won.

You trust in your ceremonial and ritualistic worship—these things, divorced, as they are, from a righteous life, are stench in the nostrils of the Almighty. *"I hate, I loathe your feasts, I find no delight in your festivals. Yea, though ye offer me burnt offerings, and meal offerings, I will not accept them, neither will I regard the fatlings of your peace offerings. Take away from me the noise of your songs, and I will not hear the music of your lyres. But let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as an overflowing stream."*

How was it of old? *"Was it (merely) sacrifices and offerings that ye brought me in the wilderness during the 40 years?"⁴⁴ But now do ye carry about the tabernacle of your king, the shrine of your images and the star of your god, which you made for yourselves."*⁴⁵

"Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus saith Jehovah whose name is God of hosts."

Chapter VI.—The sixth chapter furnishes us with something of a further development of the fifth chapter. It is an unfolding of the theme—Woe to those who dream away the days and are indifferent to the impending danger. Vengeance is upon them.

"Woe to them that are at ease in Zion—to them that are secure in the mountain of Samaria, the notable men of the chief of the nations, i. e., the elite, those who stood at the head of the nation—to whom the house of Israel came." *"Pass ye unto Calneh—to be identified probably with Kullanhu which is situated six miles from Arpad⁴⁶—and see; and from thence go ye to Hamath the great—a flourishing city on the Orontes; then go down to Gath of the Philistines—the one of the five great Philistine cities which lay nearest the territory of Israel; are they better than these kingdoms? or is their border greater than thine?"⁴⁷*

⁴⁴ Sacrifices indeed were brought; but with them was the homage of the heart. Marti, Dodeka Propheten. Geo. Adam Smith, "Minor Prophets."

⁴⁵ The reference is naturally to the degraded forms of religious life which had supplanted earlier and purer forms.

⁴⁶ So Prof. Delitzsch, "Wo Lag Das Paradies." Hastings D. B. vol. I. p. 344.

⁴⁷ This passage has been variously interpreted. Schrader, Wellhausen.

"Ye that put far away the evil day and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, that eat the lambs from the flock and the calves from the stall—they live upon the very best of the land—that hum⁴⁸ to the sound of the viol: that invent for themselves instruments of music like David, that drink wine in bowls and anoint themselves with the choicest oils; but they are not grieved because of the affliction of Joseph." Their minds are so taken up with luxury and debauchery that they fail to see the terrible decadence of Israel. Now shall they go into captivity at the very head of the captives—in the very fore-front of the long line of captives shall go these enervated weaklings whose luxury and indifference to the responsibility of leadership, had done so much to make the apostasy of Israel so fatal. *"The revelry of the banqueters shall cease. The Lord Jehovah hath sworn by himself, saith Jehovah the God of hosts; I abhor the pride of Jacob, and his palaces I hate; therefore will I deliver up the city and all that is within. So terrible is the day that is nigh that "It shall come to pass, if there be ten men in one house, that they shall die. And when a man's uncle—his nearer relatives being dead—shall take him up, even he who burns him,⁴⁹ to bring the bones out of the house, and shall say unto him that is the innermost parts of the house—a lone survivor who in terror has hid himself—Is there any with thee? And he*

Nowack and Harper regard the passage as a threat—conveying the sense, "If these cities, whose greatness even surpassed Israel's are now in ruins, Israel may likewise perish." They are cited thus as examples of "fallen greatness." Such an interpretation is out of question unless we regard the verses as a gloss or later interpretation. For Calneh did not fall until 711 B. C. when it was conquered by Sargon, who captured Hamath in 720 B. C., and Gath in 711 B. C. (Rogers' "Hist. of Babylonia and Assyria," vol. II.) The significance is rather to be found in regarding the verses as an appeal to awaken a sense of their past ingratitude. "Behold these other cities, Calneh, Gath, and Hamath, not one is more flourishing than you; thus has Jehovah dealt with you—how have you received his blessings?" So rendered by Ewald, Orelli and W. Robt. Smith.

48 The verb *Parat* is found only here, and its exact meaning is uncertain. See Brown, Briggs, Driver, Hebrew English Lexicon.

49 Cremation was rare in Israel—the case of Saul and his sons being cremated by the men of Jabesh Gilead (1 Sam. 31:12) is a prominent exception. Even in cases where the number of the dead was great, burial was the practice (Ez. 39:11-16). For this reason it is generally accepted that the burner here spoken of was one who burnt spices in honor of the dead. 2 Ch. 16:14 and 2 Ch. 21:19, make it very probable that such a view is correct.

shall answer "None;" then shall he say, "Hush" for we dare not make mention of the name of Jehovah.⁵⁰ For behold Jehovah commandeth, and the great house shall be smitten into fragments and the small house into breaches, i. e., the palaces of the rich and the hovels of the poor shall alike go down into ruins!

"Do horses run upon the rock? Does one plow the sea with oxen, that ye have turned justice into gall and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood?" There is a natural order of things in life, but your manner of life has been as irrational as if one were to run his horses upon the rocks or try to plow up the sea with oxen. "Ye who rejoice in a thing that is nothing, that say, 'Have we not taken unto ourselves horns by our own strength? Behold I will raise up against you a nation O house of Israel, saith Jehovah, the God of hosts, and they shall afflict you from the entrance to Hamath—which was the northern limit of Israel's territory about the middle of the eighth century B. C. (2 Kings 14:25)—unto the stream of Arabah.'⁵¹

Chapter VII.—Up to this point the prophet has hurled himself with all of the strength of his unique personality against what he knew to be the great undermining sins of Israel. From first one and then another point of view he assails the godlessness of his age. In the first ten verses of the chapter he tactfully mingles warning and appeal, in the account of his three visions.

(A) THE VISION OF LOCUSTS.

Thus the Lord Jehovah showed me; and, behold he formed locusts in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth; and lo, it was after the king's mowing.⁵² And it came to pass,

⁵⁰ Driver's rendering is especially apt. "Do not mention his name and thus make him aware of your presence," lest he strike again to make the crushing complete.

⁵¹ In 2 K. 14:25 we read that Jeroboam "restored the border of Israel from the entrance of Hamath unto the sea of Arabah, i. e., the Dead Sea. The stream of Arabah most likely refers to a stream flowing into the northern end of the Dead Sea: which would mean that at this time the territory of Israel extended as far as the Dead Sea. So regarded by Nowack, Driver, Marti and Geo. Adam Smith.

⁵² The first growth was gathered for taxes and the support of the royalty. It is very probable that taxation was reduced to a system by Solomon. (Benzinger's *Hebraische Archeologie*, p. 257). Hence the coming of the locusts just as the aftergrowth was shooting forth was the most inopportune and disastrous of all times as far as the people were concerned. It meant want and famine in the land.

that as they were making an end of devouring the grass of the land, I said, "O Lord Jehovah, forgive I pray thee: how shall Jacob stand, for he is small."⁵³ Jehovah repented concerning this: "It shall not be," saith Jehovah.

(B) THE VISION OF DESTROYING FIRE.

Thus the Lord Jehovah showed me: and behold the Lord Jehovah called to contend by fire—fire was brought in as a punishment upon the land—and it devoured the great deep. The reference here is very evidently not to the ocean, but rather to the great deep from which the wells, springs and all streams received their supply. (Ex. 20:4). All of the sources of water supply were dried up, and as the fire swept on it would have eaten up the land. Again at the prayer of the prophet, Jehovah withdrew the impending ruin.

That these passages refer to any definite clouds which threatened Israel's life is improbable. We are to find emphasized three important facts:

(1) God has not been blind to the ungodliness and grossness of Israel.

(2) God has inflicted them with the severest punishments, as severe even as locusts and drought—but even these did not open their eyes.

(3) God is merciful—slow to anger and ever ready to forgive. The prayer of a single prophet was able to save a nation.

Then follows a third vision:

(C) THE VISION OF THE PLUMB-LINE.

Thus he showed me; and behold the Lord stood beside a wall made by a plumb-line; with a plumb-line in his hand. And Jehovah said unto me, "What seest thou Amos?" And I said, "A plumb-line." Then said the Lord, "Behold I will set a plumb-

⁵³ Amos pictures himself here as an intermediary pleading with God in behalf of his people—as Abraham pleading for Sodom. (Gen. 18:22, etc). As Moses in battle with Amalekites. (Ex. 17:8). As Samuel for Israel at Mizpah (1 Sam. 7) or as Jeremiah praying that God will be merciful to Israel (Jer. 14:7-10).

line in the midst of my people Israel⁵⁴ I will not again pass by them any more"—the high places of Isaac shall be desolate and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste; and I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword." Jehovah has come to test Israel and she is found wanting. The land shall be devastated—the sanctuaries shall be despoiled, and, in this general collapse of the nation, the reigning house shall be overthrown.

Such a sweeping prophecy was not allowed to pass unchallenged. Some have supposed that the prophet was interrupted just at this point because of the nature of his utterance in the ninth verse—which was regarded as treason against the king. It is probably the case that in the throng gathered to listen to the prophetic message were some of the royal spies who mingled in the crowd on such occasions to keep the officials posted on any developments which would be against the interests of the king.⁵⁵ Such individuals upon hearing the scathing utterances and seeing their effect upon the popular mind, would not fail to report to the king's officials. Amaziah the priest of Bethel is delegated as the king's representative to order the offender back to his home in Judah.

The charge results in an open clash between the royal delegate and the fearless son of the desert, whose dire predictions had probably cast a spell of sympathy over those who knew the justice of his cause. Matters had gone too far to openly seize him on the charge of treason, so a personal rebuke was resorted to. "*O thou seer, go flee thou away into the land of Judah and there eat thy bread, and prophesy there: but prophesy not again in Bethel, for it is the king's sanctuary, and it is a royal house.*" Opposition stirred the mountain lion into rage: "*I was no prophet, neither was I one of the sons of the prophets.*"...I was neither by profession a prophet, nor was I a member of any school of prophets—but *I was a herdman and a dresser of sycamore trees; and Jehovah took me from following the flock, and Jehovah said unto me, "Go prophesy unto my people Israel."*

Now therefore hear thou the word of Jehovah: "*Thou sayest,*

⁵⁴ The builder has come to test the structure—if it does not stand the test it will be destroyed.

⁵⁵ See Jeremiah, Chapt. 36 for a similar case.

prophecy not against Israel and drop not thy words against the house of Isaac;" therefore thus saith Jehovah, "Thy wife shall be a harlot in the city, and thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword, and thy land shall be divided by line;⁵⁶ and thou thyself shall die in a land that is unclean,⁵⁷ and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of the land."⁵⁸

Chapter VIII.—One is surprised at the freedom of speech allowed in Israel during the reign of Jeroboam II, (during the age of Jeremiah, c. 625 B. C. is was very different. Jer. 26 and 36:5). Even after defying the royal representative Amos is apparently permitted to continue his message.

(D) THE VISION OF THE SUMMER FRUIT.

Thus the Lord showed me: and behold a basket of summer fruit.⁵⁹ And he said, "Amos, what seest thou? And I said, "A basket of summer fruit." Then saith Jehovah unto me, "The end has come upon my people Israel; I will not again pass them by any more; the songs of the palace shall be wailings in that day," saith the Lord Jehovah; "the dead bodies shall be many; and in every place shall they carry them forth in silence."

Then follows the oft recurring indictment made against Israel. Sad is the future of those whose insatiate greed drives them to oppress the needy—to use false measures and to sell dishonest wares—those who could scarcely control themselves during the "New Moon," and other religious festivals—so eager were they

⁵⁶ Reference is here made to the policy of the Assyrian kings after Tiglath-pileser III, of colonizing conquered territory with subjects, from a remote section of the kingdom, or of assured loyalty. The line here spoken of is naturally the measuring line.

⁵⁷ All foreign lands were unclean, because they were not seats of Jehovah's presence.

⁵⁸ When one reviews the hopes most fondly cherished by the ancient Hebrew, a curse more terrible than this is inconceivable. The fulfillment of the prophecy is recorded in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. "The hand of Beth-Omri (Samaria)..... The entire population together with their possessions I led away to Assyria. Pekah, their king, I killed. I placed Hosea over them. 10 talents of gold (?), 1000 talents of silver(?), together with their....I took from them; to the land of Assyria I brought them." See Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Band 2, S. 33.

⁵⁹ The basket was filled with fruits that failed to mature earlier in the season when the choicest fruit was gathered—the fruits were not only inferior, but they showed that the end of the season had come. They suggested in this connection that the autumn of Israel's national life had come.

to carry on their heartless work.⁶⁰ Jehovah hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, *"Surely I will not forget any of their works."*

In the days of prosperity Israel had adopted the policy of disregarding and killing the prophets---it is in the result of this practice that they are to taste the climax of bitterness! In the day of their direst need there would be no prophets left in their midst to cheer them with the thought of their origin, mission and destiny. When the cataclysm swept every thing before it, and at last they opened their eyes to the logical end of their manner of living, they would find, to their sorrow, that, because of their persistent refusal to obey, Jehovah had sent *"a famine in the land. Not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of Jehovah. And they shall wander from sea to sea,⁶¹ and from the north even unto the east; they shall run to and fro to seek the word of Jehovah, and shall not find it. In that day shall the fair virgins and the young men—that is, even the very strongest—faint for thirst. And they shall swear by the sin of Samaria—that is, by that which has proven to be the sin of Samaria—and say, "As thy God, O Dan, liveth;" and "As the way of Beersheba liveth"—thus revealing their idolatrous devotion to them—they shall fall, and never rise again."*

Chapter IX.—Chapter IX falls naturally into two sections: (1) V. 1-7, the ruin of Bethel and the complete overthrow of all those who trust in it. (2) V. 7-15, A word of promise.

A VISION OF RUIN.

I saw the Lord standing beside the altar—the altar at Bethel, the center of religion in the northern kingdom—and he said, "Smite the capitals, that the thresholds may shake; yea break them off;⁶² and I will slay the last of them with the sword; not one of them shall flee away; not one shall escape."

In verses 2, 3 and 4, we have an enlargement of the thought given in 5:19. Nowhere can a more striking portrayal of the

⁶⁰ See Is. 66:23; 2 K. 4:23; and also Benzinger's "Archeologie," p. 388.

⁶¹ This may be understood as—from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea; or more generally, as an expression referring to the ends of the earth.

⁶² Rendering uncertain: above suggested by Harper, in loco.

Omnipresence of Jehovah be found in the Old Testament, than we find here in the graphic words of the prophet. *Though, in their efforts to escape, they dig into Sheol, thence shall my hand take them: though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down. And though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel,⁶³ I will track them and take them out from thence: and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command serpent, and it shall bite them. And though they go into captivity before their enemies, thence will I command the sword, and it shall slay them; and I will set my eyes upon them for evil and not for good.*

And who is able to do all this? *The Lord Jehovah of hosts, he that toucheth the land and it melteth, and all that dwell therein shall mourn; and it shall rise up wholly like the river, and shall sink again, like the river of Egypt—he that buildeth his chambers in the heavens, and hath founded his vault upon the earth; he that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth; Jehovah is his name.”*

In verse 7, we have the enlarged conception of Jehovah as the universal God. Then follows the much disputed section⁶⁴ in which denunciation and arraignment give place to a message of hope.

In the storm of vengeance that is gathering God will protect the faithful remnant—and after the sifting is over—*In that day I will raise up the hut of David that is fallen and close up its breaches. And I will raise up its ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old: that they may possess the remnant of Edom and all nations which are called by my name, saith Jehovah, that doeth this. Behold the days come saith Jehovah, that the plow-*

⁶³ Because of its inaccessibility, Carmel was a favorite retreat of outlaws.

⁶⁴ The chief grounds of objection to the Amosian authorship of the section v. 7-15, are: (a) The contrast in which it stands to the total destruction predicted in such passages as 2:14-16, 4:2, 5:18-20. (b) The overthrow of Israel is given as an already accomplished fact. (9:11). (c) There are marked linguistic affinities between this section and the exilic and post-exilic works. It seems, however, in considering these and other objections, that they exaggerate the case. For instance, as to the first objection, Amos clearly emphasizes the fact that there is a righteous remnant which will be spared. See 3:12 and 5:3. As to the second objection, the prophet is so confident of the overthrow of the land that he speaks of it as though it were already accomplished. The linguistic argument is not strong enough to be conclusive. See H. Strack, "Einleitung in d. O. T." 6 Aufl. S. 111.

man shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; and the mountain shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt. And I will bring back the captivity of my people Israel; and they shall rebuild the waste cities and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards and drink the wine thereof, they shall also make gardens and eat the fruit from them. And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall never again be plucked up from the land which I have given them, saith Jehovah.

Pittsburg, Pa.

ARTICLE IV.

METAPHYSICAL THERAPEUTICS AND THE CHURCH.

BY REV. J. M. CROMER, D.D.

We can understand present conditions only by studying the causes leading up to them. About fifty years ago a new biology was given out to the world. At first many were skeptical, and slow to accept it. Others were friendly because of the light this new science was expected to shed upon the problem of the physical creation. Both scientists and theologians became deeply interested. The hope was entertained that at least new light might be shed upon God's method in creation, especially as far as our earth-planet was concerned.

But Satan, constantly seeking some new role in which to oppose God in the destruction of his chief creature, man, soon put on the scientific robe, and taking up this infant science sought to turn it, as an instrument of invasion, upon the simple biblical account, with the intent of driving God out of the house of his own creation. All sorts of substitutes for the creative fiat grew out of this latest science. Many a hard fought battle was waged between this perverted science and an evangelical faith and many who had hitherto been loyal to revealed truth came to subject it to the test of a partial science only partially understood, and lost their theological mooring. A more discriminate study however, solved the newly raised questions and saved the Church from an apostasy which would have lost sight of the supernatural, and plunged believers into the starless night of atheism.

By and by a new theology came into existence, meeting a fate somewhat similar to that of the new biology. The combined effect was to weaken faith in all that was mysterious, and which could not stand the test of the scientist's crucible, or the theologian's rules of interpretation. Many preachers recast both their message and the form of its presentation, in order to conform as fully as possible to the new terminology of what was now called advanced thought. The whole character of the preaching of

many was changed. The mystery of faith, the mystery of godliness, the mystery of a supernatural revelation, the spiritual and the invisible,—all were lost out of the content of this new gospel. In an attempt to rationalize the gospel, and to strip it of all unnecessary appeals to mere faith, and hence make it supposedly more easily accepted, but at any rate, and which was the chief motive, to conform to the arbitrary edicts issuing from a purely non-religious science, the great body of divine mystery in the Bible, and the large element of mystery in human nature were ignored. Scientific demonstration and philosophical speculation, supplanted the old gospel evolved from “the mystery of godliness,” and unavoidably reflected upon the “God made flesh.” Thus the common believer, now without anchorage, or mooring, was made subject to every “wind of doctrine.”

No matter what the value of higher criticism, the higher critics themselves cannot know how much they have been influenced by a non-religious science, nor how much harm they have done in unsettling the life-long conviction of thousands of Christians, and thus so confusing them that they can no longer distinguish the cry of the “true shepherd” from the clamorings of the “hireling.” They do not now know which voice to follow.

We do well to contemplate the type and condition of those minds which for one briefest moment consider the suggestions of “spontaneous generation,” and a “fortuitous concourse of atoms” as possible substitutes for that divinely dramatic statement with which the sacred record begins, “In the beginning God created.” And though we may not know how, or by what method, we may easily enough allow such a secondary matter as this to lie in the secret counsels of the Almighty, especially when by our crude methods of investigation we come to doubt the fundamental proposition that *God created*.

Little wonder then that the common believer lost his footing of faith in his old-time religion. He also lost his spiritual thermometer, and could not measure those sensations which had fallen below a normal consciousness, and which on that account, were premonitory of spiritual death.

All this, in various degrees, was preparatory for the introduction of the third, last and newest production, namely, *The New Psychology*, thus completing the trinity of tests which have come

upon our faith in this day. This new science, or new statement of an old science, has given rise to various issues and cults which now seem to be at the high-water mark of their influence.

This was naturally and logically the next thing. We might have anticipated it without prophetic vision. The appeal is now metaphysical, the very opposite so far as the believer is concerned from that either of the new biology or of the new theology. See the serpentine wisdom of Satan, and the weak gullibleness of poor human nature. Satan "perverts" both the new biology and the new theology into an attack upon faith. Then, when through lack of exercise, the elements of faith become weak, and the spiritual powers are paralyzed, such conditions manifest themselves as to open the way for the metaphysical appeal.

The Church waned and lost its spiritual power under the new methods of preaching caused by the pretentious thought of to-day. The mysterious, which is the very nutrition of the soul, without which it would not and could not be so far as its connection with the physical is concerned, having been eliminated as far as possible, left the spiritual nature in a starving condition. It was a conscious need for something which the churches did not give that made possible all the progress of the various cults of the day. Not that these cults have supplied the need, but that Satan, taking advantage of the prevailing conditions, has also taken up the new psychology and turned it to his base purpose.

Let us remember now that in dealing with this new psychology we are necessarily compelled to deal not only with the scientist and the religionist, but primarily with the witness himself, his experience, and the testimony he bears. Experiences have come to be of such a character, and testimonies accordingly of such an unusual and startling nature, that we are compelled to go back of both and examine the witness himself, inquiring into the balancing of mental and spiritual forces affecting the validity of his testimony.

We are not attempting to assail the new psychology, but as with the new biology and the new theology, to show to what a perverted use it has been turned, and how this perversion has affected the life of the believer. And as the Church, or its pulpit, has loaned its endorsement to the former, at the expense of the most vital elements of our religion, so now is the Church in

danger of being drawn into this new wave. As most artfully utilized by the "arch deceiver," the attempt now is to *supplant the very Holy Ghost himself in his operation through the means of grace upon the minds and hearts of men.*

The whole field of spiritual operation is presumptively covered by this pretentious new form of an old science. At first this new psychology was grossly materialistic. It undertook to designate the particular brain cells affected by the preaching of the gospel, as though there were religious or moral quality in mere gray matter, and also attempted to trace out the special nerve centers thus aroused, by which the brain cells came into communication with the spirit, thus leading to the acceptance or rejection of the gospel message according to the effect thus produced, without the aid of the "convicting" power and agency of the Holy Ghost,—an attempted cerebration of all spiritual operation whether on the part of man, or of God.

In plain opposition to this method of accounting for spiritual results without spiritual operation, is the attempt now made to involve the mind in all mysteries of the subtle and indefinable relation between the physical and the metaphysical, having the aim to establish a system of metaphysical therapeutics, in which the lower, or subliminal consciousness is supposed to be able to assert itself in curative power over the ills of the conscious life in the body.

When we see how in the former case the Holy Ghost has been eliminated from all agency in healing the maladies of the soul, we are prepared to see this same Holy Ghost driven from his influence upon the body. For there is absolutely no religion, nor any need of any, in the healing cults of the day. The chief article or commodity is the gullibility of the individual. And this has been in evidence from the beginning. No modern invention has had anything to do with man's susceptibility to methods calculated to deceive by their very nature.

The bones of a beloved saint have healed thousands of credulous pilgrims. But neither the saint nor his bones had anything to do with the healing. When the saint's bones decayed, and a goat's bones were substituted, the healing went on the same.

Our aim is to account for the progress made by these cults, and for the fact that many of these adherents of this new gospel

are perverts from the true faith. The failure to preach the mysteries of the gospel, the gullibility of human nature, and the "artful devices" of Satan, who now appears as "an angel of light," are at least some of the principal causes.

But before following up our study of the new psychology it would seem necessary to say a few words upon the character of Satan. No army nor contestant ever makes a greater or more fatal mistake than by underestimating or being ignorant of the enemy, his nature and power. Much of our weakness as believers is in the fact that we do not believe that Satan goes up and down the earth "seeking whom he may devour." Many do not believe there is such a being. And many who do not admit his existence come to hardly less fatal conclusions by associating him in their minds, with only the vile, loathsome excesses of the sins of the flesh.

But Satan is purely a spirit, and has his incarnation only in the lives of sinful men. The horrible sins of the flesh have been made possible because Satan alienated man from his God and broke off the holy spiritual relation by disobedience. Satan disobeyed God, rebelled against him and fell. Man disobeyed and fell. The first sin, and the essential sin, was and still is of the mind and heart in rejecting God. All that follows in the life of a fallen spirit associated with a sensuous and fleshly body is but a natural result. The spiritual outlaw runs riot in its operation in and through the sensuous body.

We overlook the more respectable, but none the less damning sins of the intellect and spirit. But these are the initial and causative sins which sever the soul from its God, and which separation lets the flesh drop to the lowest degradation.

Satan is not such a loathsome creature as the vile sins of the flesh would indicate. These are made possible only when man, who is flesh and spirit, breaks away from the laws of the spirit-life and becomes subject to the laws of the flesh. When the divine bond between the soul and its God is broken then man, not having the instinctive faculties of brute-life, falls below the brute.

It is, however, because man is a spiritual being that either God or Satan can operate upon him at all. And it is because there are necessarily opposites in the moral and spiritual, God standing

for good, and Satan for evil, that we as spirits must choose between them.

But who and what is Satan that he has so much power over man? He is called in God's Word an "angel of light," "the ruler of this world," "the god of this world," "the prince of this world," &c., &c. It was not so much that Satan challenged God, but it was much that God accepted the challenge, thus accepting him as a worthy foe. And it has been Satan's mission to this day, "*to pervert the right ways of the Lord.*" We have not understood this *perverting* power. Our Lord rose to the full stature of his divinity when in triumphant victory he commanded Satan hence. This gave Christ kingship over Satan, and which power Satan and all his devils ever afterward recognized. Redemption won in the spirit world by the force of one sharp omnipotent command. It has yet to win on earth and among men by the painful tragedy of the cross prolonged through the ages because God so loved the world that he would have all men saved. There can be no better equipment for the student who would analyze the spirit of the day and understand the struggle of the race for life, than a thorough biblical and metaphysical study of Satanology. The mind and heart are an open market for his wares. Satan rivals God for possession of man, who is the bone of contention between God and Satan. The great battle of the universe for spiritual supremacy is to be fought out between God and Satan in the hearts and minds of men. God has conquered all—where else. Hence it becomes our constant duty to "try the spirits" that would influence us.

The force of the projectile is determined by the impelling power plus the resistance. And thus we must judge of these new movements. There is still left us the recuperating power of resistance.

Why then should Satan have sought to "pervert" the new movements of the day, biology, new theology, and especially the new *psychology*?...Satan is a past-master in psychology. He is not much on biology, and less on theology, but he is at home in psychology, especially where anything new is attempted in this field. We poor mortals have little hope to be able to make headway in the realm of the metaphysical unless we come fore-armed

with the companionship of Him who led captivity captive and conquered death.

Why should not Satan have suggested the revival in the study of psychology just at this time? No undergraduate was ever better prepared for his final studies than the human mind of to-day has been prepared for the study of psychology—that is, from Satan's standpoint. Satan is only following the logical sequence of events. And what is more, he is now following in the very footsteps of the all-conquering Christ himself. Never in human history has the synagogue of Satan so nearly occupied the very seat of Christ, as in this latest attempt to "pervert" the truth of that science which deals with the phenomena of the flesh-bound spirit in man.

Christ healed. And some would limit the power he used to mere psychological influences. We began to see our miracle-working Lord fade out of all his divine glory and power, as one by one his miracles were attributed to the power of "suggestion," and as he became nothing more than a slight-of-hand performer with the sub-conscious faculties of gullible man, until at last this same Christ *raised the dead!* At last we have come to a miracle where the bungling jugglers with metaphysical temerity themselves stand aghast and only Jesus speaks. And who but the blasphemer will retrace his steps from the empty tomb of Lazarus, going back over the lesser miracles, and attempt to separate the divine from the merely metaphysical? But some have so presumed, and report that at least some of our Lord's miracles will stand the test of being possible only to a divine Lord. Such are curing the congenital lame, blind and the raising of the dead.

Christ healed. The apostles healed. From an early day the Church claimed to heal. But the modern Church did not heal. Was it not a simple "suggestion" starting with Satan himself, that the thing for the Church now to do was to heal? There were healers many and various. The Church was losing to these cults. Satan was in the cults. Why not suggest that the thing to do to hold the deserting followers of Christ was to give them what they wanted—heal them of their ills? Thus the Church might regain her lost hold upon men. And under this glare of possible rehabilitation of the Church's lost power, Satan would take the seat of Christ. And hence many cults have risen and

flourished, and many enterprising ones still in the Church would check the stampede by instituting healing in the churches by opening up schools teaching the art, and by practicing upon the most gullible, but all, both within and without the Church, based upon the most rigid and exacting financial conditions.

And now this bold, bald, unscriptural doctrine is promulgated, which devitalizes the gospel, destroys the uniqueness of Christ's character, minimizes his mission, making his death on the cross ridiculous and meaningless and which trifles with the noble religious element in man,—which prostitutes a religion primarily and in its fullest essence spiritual to become primarily for mere physical good, thus shifting the point of emphasis. The whole remedial work of Christ is put in the background. Christ the Saviour is lost in Christ the healer, Christ the teacher is lost in Mrs. Eddy (et al) the interpreter, and Christ the divine Son of God, equal with the Father, is lost in a pantheistic notion which attributes divinity to all men. The feeble attempt at the cultivation of morals, and of character-forming accompanying these cults is the cheapest belief when compared with the life growing out of a regenerated heart and an indwelling Christ. And thus the weak Christian whose way of a simple faith had become toilsome, has been persuaded to "cross over the stile," into "by-meadow path" and has thus landed in "Doubting Castle."

There is just one plain, but not so well understood word which may be used to explain these phenomena, and that word is insanity. Remember that we are now speaking purely metaphysically. Scientists have tried to classify the phenomena of the insane, and some other word might be found to express our idea which would not sound so harsh. But it would be only a substitute for the same thing. Every thing which goes outside the experience of the greater number of the most perfect specimens of the race, in way of mental or spiritual experience must at least be called abnormal. Intellectually all such uncommon experiences are "brain phantasies," and spiritually they are "soul-ecstasies."

Let us follow our study a little farther. Whatever the subjective experience, it must not contradict but co-ordinate with the objective reality. Nor must we lose sight of either in our study of the other. However complex man is he is still only one

being. There may be the conscious self which knocks about in the daytime busied with the affairs of life, and the sub-conscious self which rides nightmares during the night, yet it is the same one acting each time. And no matter how this spirit in its sub-conscious experience may batter its wings against the barred cage of the conscious senses in an effort to reach out beyond them, both must live together until dissolution, and during this tabernacling in the flesh, *they must unify their experiences*. Neither intellect nor heart can deal with contradiction here. Both the superconscious and the sub-conscious are in the borderland of the unconscious.

It is in the realm of these extremes that the attenuated philosophies and cults of the Orient have their origin. But in this realm there can be no sure basis of knowledge for either the metaphysical or the religious. And to our plain, practical occidental mind, such speculation is attended by both danger and evil. We cannot deal with that over which we have neither mental nor sensuous control. We are forced to believe that we see things which are not, and which have in themselves no practical value, and pretended facts are thrust upon us which we have no means of substantiating. Worse than all, human experience is invalidated, which is not only the bulwark of our faith, but of all the relations in life.

We follow the new psychology until we feel that our feet are treading the air and our mind is scaling impossible altitudes where nothing can be determined that will bring the phenomena within sensuous recognition. No color, no shape, no size, no consistency, no language, no picture, type or symbol can reduce the experience to practical proportions. Even self-consciousness loses the force of its meaning because we cannot discriminate it from either the "sub" or the "super-conscious."

William James finds an analogy to the phenomenon of super-consciousness in the effect of anaesthetics. It is also likened to the results of drunkenness. But both are abnormal experiences. And when the experience is had without either of these provoking causes, then we must conclude that the balance of mental and spiritual forces has been broken, and the poise of the being has been unsettled, in either case producing phenomena which can be defined no better than by calling them insanity.

Many will stagger here because they will think at once of the mad-house, bars, cages, and chains and heavily-bolted doors. But this is too gross a conception for this refined or superfine experience. The harmless insane far outnumber the dangerous. Many harmless ones are locked up for fear they will become dangerous, who become dangerous because they are locked up. But many of these belong to that class which is insane upon such high lines as not to suggest physical danger, and who are left to their freedom, but who are unsettling the equilibrium of the thinking and feeling of many.

Is that not a strange order then which confines those who endanger the physical peace, and which honor those as "teachers" and "healers" and "angels of light," and even as interpreters of divine revelation, those neurotics who have lost their balance in the super-conscious realm? Memory has no dependable meaning with such. The end of both "idea" and "perception" has been reached. A mind intoxicated through estatic excess is no more reliable in its testimony than a mind intoxicated through the artificial introduction of alcoholic or anaesthetic poison.

The test to-day is not upon faith or revelation, but upon human experience. And since testimony is the human foundation of religious experience, and most vital in the confirmative evidences of Christianity we are bound to protect its validity. And this drives us back of the testimony to the character and quality of the testifier. And when these experiences are so far out of line with the normal mind we must conclude that they are either super-ethereal or sub-tartaran. It is beyond the golden medium of a well-balanced earth-life, and can be accounted for only by Satanic influence which seeks thus to "pervert" the ordinary testimony which the wholly rational mind has always borne to the operation of God's good spirit upon the spirit of man. Christ did not permit Peter's ecstasy on the mount to fuse itself out in building tabernacles, but sought to utilize the power in rational benefit to the distressed world.

Artificially overwrought physical sensation is self-abuse. But so is artificially overwrought spiritual sensation. All experience to be credited as normal must come within the bounds of common everyday consciousness. Granting that the super-consciousness can exempt from a sense of the pain of the body, it is on that

account most dangerous. For conscious pain is God's way of helping us to know that the natural functions upon which health and life depend are not being performed, in order that we may promptly correct the disorder before serious results follow. Is not the life both body and spirit? Do we not have senses full of pleasant and profitable employment? Does not the great Creator intend that these should form a balance of interest in which each should be fully recognized? And can it be any worse for the coarse physical to dominate and crowd out the refined spiritual, than for the super-sensuous to lord it over the physical and destroy its functions? Are not both mentally helpful? And if we will go a little further into this study from a biblical standpoint we will learn how greatly the spiritual is dependent even upon the physical. For without the physical there can be no redemption of the spiritual. There is no redemption for Satan and fallen spirits. And the fallen spirit in man owes its redemption wholly to its combination with the body. For "without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin." Why then can not the super-sensuous which has its seat in the spiritual bide the time when through redemption it shall have its deliverance, and being untrammelled go on under fairer conditions to the enjoyment of those things impossible to this earth-life, so that all flesh as well as all spirit may at last praise him who both created and redeemed?

Our plea is for the sensuous nature that it may be redeemed from the death caused by the breaking of God's law of life, and finally glorified in a triumphant resurrection. And our claim is that the spirit owes its redemption also to the body. No wonder that such trifling with things which God wisely and purposely veiled in the flesh, for an object entirely overlooked by these ecstasies confounds the mind as to what is and is not real. Surely the dream, the trance, and the imagination are not to take precedence in the realm of the real over the positive and practical experience of the real flesh and sense.

The occidental mind has been intensely practical. It has grown so under the influence of a great undeveloped continent and even hemisphere. Material enterprise has dominated the life. And in no age and in no race has there been such symmetrical development of life and character. The western mind

has been ideal, but within the reach of mundane possibility. It has been spiritual, but within the reach of a rational love to both God and fellow-man. And although we have swung to the danger line of materialism even this is not so overwhelming as the dangers which threaten us from an over-wrought spirit-ism. And no phenomenon has been more amazing and unexpected than that the pendulum of occidentalism should now seem to be surging to the extremes of orientalism.

If our contention is at all patent it must be seen that a great problem is before us. And since the Church is pre-eminently spiritual, the aims of the solution rests with her. She must not yield to the super-sensuous, nor fall into the grossly physical. If she yield to either she must suffer. Metaphysical therapeutics is as much out of her line, as super-sensuous hallucinations. We cannot yield to spiritual intoxication, flying imaginary kites hoping to catch a spark of the divine-infinite with which to sensitize the mortal-finite, and then prostitute this super-natural power to base and purely physical purposes. Earth cannot become either a spiritual utopia or a physical paradise. Both must groan together and await their mutual crowning in more appropriate sphere.

There never was a time in human thinking when the normal, rational consciousness, held in due restraint by practical reason needed more to assert itself both in metaphysical science and revealed religion. The hound hunting his own trail can never catch up with his tail. The super-sensuous must ever evade our earthly grasp. There is a rational reaching out after the more perfect in both body and spirit as exemplified in St. Paul's true philosophy. But the goal lies beyond the reach of the physical. A third-heaven vision may burst upon us but not to slacken our pace in our earthly race, nor to exchange feet for flying wings. The race course is on solid ground and not in evasive air nor vagrant clouds.

Christ made no mistake in putting the emphasis upon the redemption of the spirit, and making the body subservient to this high end. Surely we have no warrant in reversing the order. He healed, but healed no appreciable part of the suffering of that disease-ridden land. But he did heal enough to lay the foundation of the confirmative evidence of his deity in the gross

ground of the physical. And under the practical evangel of the gospel the suffering of the body is sanctified to the higher life of the spirit.

Must the Church in this advanced day of spiritual enlightenment go back to the kindergarten methods of healing which were necessary at the beginning? And must the tragedy of human experience be prolonged merely that Satan may rehearse all of the methods in which he has been triumphantly defeated?

Let us reinstate the mysteries of the gospel, but to the end that we may increase our faith in our divine Lord and his complete and adequate redemption. Only when the Holy Ghost shall burn his graces into the human heart can we live the life beautiful. And it is the practical miracle of the gospel that all our sufferings shall be converted into an exceeding glory.

NOTE.—We call attention to George Barton Cutten's late work, "The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity," which every preacher, but especially our students in the seminaries, should read and carefully digest. Of all the books we have read and reviewed on this subject, this is surely best.—Scribner's.

Kansas City, Mo.

ARTICLE V.

THE BLASPHEMY AGAINST THE HOLY SPIRIT.

BY REV. WM. WEBER, PH.D.

According to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus has called a certain sin a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. That sin alone of all sins shall not be forgiven in eternity. Seriously-minded people have ever again been troubled in their conscience by the question whether they have not become guilty, though unawares, of that unpardonable offense. The attempt, therefore, has been made to give a clear and correct definition of what a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit really is. In doing so, however, men have generally started from dogmatic, not from historical premises.

The result arrived at in this way has been formulated by Plummer (*Int. Crit. Comment*, Lu. p. 321) as follows: "Constant and consummate opposition to the influence of the Holy Spirit, because of a deliberate preference of darkness to light, renders repentance, and therefore forgiveness, morally impossible. Grace, like bodily food, may be rejected until the power to receive it perishes."

Such explanations may satisfy people who take it for granted that Jesus used the language of our dogmatics. Those who are not so sure that that was the case are obliged to seek reliable information by a different road. They will feel bound to discover first of all which particular, definite action our Lord himself has branded as blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. Only by learning that, we shall be enabled to draw safe conclusions as to what would constitute that enormous sin in our own religious life.

That task, moreover, is not beset by exceptional difficulties. All we have to do is to examine minutely and carefully those gospel-passages which treat of the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. These are Mk. 3, 20-30; Mt. 12, 22-37; Lk. 12, 1-12. The first two pericopes are closely related. Luke, on the other hand, represents an independent tradition.

MARK 3, 20-30.

At the first glance everything in the Mark-passage seems clear and plain. Scribes who apparently had come for that very purpose from Jerusalem, questioned the character of Jesus in an insidious manner. They told the people he had formed an agreement with the evil one and owed his power over the demons to that infernal pact.

Jesus refutes that attack with words of no uncertain ring. The logic of his statements is absolutely sound. Anybody who possesses but little common sense must admit that Jesus had nothing in common with Beelzebul, but that the two were deadly enemies. Beelzebul is of course anxious to expand his empire and to confirm his dominion over the hearts of men. Jesus destroys that empire and dominion by healing demoniacs. Consequently, Jesus was, not the friend and ally, but the implacable foe and conqueror of the devil.

This convincing refutation of the charge of the scribes is followed immediately by the words: "Verily I tell you: All sins and all blasphemies which they utter shall be forgiven the sons of men; but whosoever blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit obtains never forgiveness but is guilty of an eternal sin."

According to the context, it is quite clear that Jesus stigmatizes here the infamous slander of his adversaries as a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, a sin that shall not be pardoned in all eternity. The structure of the text presents not the least sign indicating that v. 28 f. does not continue originally and organically v. 22-27.

Besides, the evangelist himself adds to the blasphemy, saying the explanatory remark: "For they were saying: He has an unclean spirit." The "they" are the scribes; the "he" is Jesus. The sentence, "He has an unclean spirit," repeats the thought which we find expressed in v. 22 by the words: "He has Beelzebul."

The blasphemy against the Holy Spirit consists, therefore, according to the direct testimony of the evangelist in the defamation of Jesus by the scribes. We are dealing with a sin of which the outspoken enemies of our Lord had become guilty.

But with what right may that attempt of casting suspicion

upon Jesus be called a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit? It was, in the first place and directly, a sin against Jesus. It could be taken for a direct blasphemy against the Holy Spirit only if Jesus and the Holy Spirit were identical. But that is certainly not the case. Moreover, in the parallel passage in Matthew (cp. Lk. 12, 10), a blasphemy against Jesus is expressly distinguished from a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. "Whosoever speaks a word against the Son of Man shall obtain forgiveness; but whosoever speaks against the Holy Spirit shall not obtain forgiveness." If we are to judge from these words, the sin of the scribes cannot have consisted chiefly in the fact that they said something against Jesus. This fact could only in an indirect way have constituted their grievous sin.

The saying of Jesus in Mark conveys to us no definite meaning unless we assume that the Holy Spirit of which Jesus is speaking is not the specifically Christian Spirit which he first imparted to his followers. The scribes neither possessed nor knew of that Spirit. They thus were hardly in a position in which they might sin against it. Jesus must have in mind that Spirit, which, even before his arrival, was active in the world at large and especially among the people of Israel, that Spirit of which the scribes themselves were convinced to own a certain measure. That the Jews believed in such a Holy Spirit need not be proved. The Holy Spirit, the divine wisdom, was from the very beginning the heavenly light which had guided and enlightened all the men of God among the chosen people. The scribes themselves owed their knowledge of God and his holy will to the revelation of that Spirit.

Under these circumstances, the blasphemy of the scribes against the Holy Spirit could only be discovered in the fact that their slandering Jesus was a sin against their own better knowledge and understanding, against the testimony of the Holy Spirit, speaking to them through their own conscience. What Jesus said in his own defense, they ought to have said to themselves before they started to vilify him.

To use plain, modern language, Jesus seems to have told his hearers and detractors: Your common sense ought to have prevented you from bringing such a foolish charge against me. Everybody knows well enough that the devil does not destroy

his own work. But you permitted yourselves to be carried away by envy and hatred to accuse me against your own better judgment of being a tool of the evil one. Anybody who thus for hateful and egotistical reasons opposes anything as bad and wicked, though it is evidently and absolutely good and holy, commits thereby the unpardonable sin of blaspheming against the Holy Spirit.

It is superfluous to waste any words as to the possible significance of the term "eternal sin." It is sufficient to refer to the parallelism of members which shows itself so distinctly in the two sentences:

He never obtains forgiveness,
but is guilty of eternal sin.

The one statement explains the other.

Our Mark-pericope seems to possess all those excellent features and qualities which recommend this gospel as the oldest and most trustworthy to so many scholars. Its language is concise and transparent. The account is free from verbosity and superfluous repetitions. We understand readily what the writer intends to tell us.

But we must not overlook that the pericope is evidently incomplete. The original introduction, relating how it came to pass that the scribes made that insidious charge against Jesus has been lost in some way. Vs. 20-21 cannot supply this want. Those verses are rather two disconnected and, as they now stand, contradictory fragments. Their very appearance in their present place proves that the compiler of the gospel was aware he had to fill out a lacuna.

Let us first consider the statement *ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον*. These words, according to the general Greek as well as to the New Testament usage, mean nothing else but "he comes into a house," "he goes into a house," or "he enters a house." (Cp. R. V.). Nevertheless, they are usually understood to mean "he came to his home," i. e., he returned from one of his missionary excursions to the place where he had his permanent abode. Gould (Int. Crit. Comment., Mark p. 61), f. inst., states: "*εἰς οἶκον* is here probably the colloquial anarthrous phrase, equivalent to our *home*. But he fails entirely to show that this *anarthrous* phrase

ever occurs in any other place. The classical Greek expression of this idea of home is οἶκαδε, or οἶκόνδε. These words are not found in the New Testament. The synoptists say instead ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ (Mk. 6, 1)' or ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν (Mt. 9, 1). If we read in v. 20 ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον αὐτοῦ, or εἰς τὸν οἶκον, we might accept Gould's translation. As it is, however, the phrase is not only anarthrous, but also lacks the possessive genitive of the pronoun.

Οἶκος is used by the New Testament writers 112 times. (Moulton & Geden, Concordance of the Greek Testament). It denotes, if we pay no attention to Mk. 3, 20, 63 times a house, i. e., a building inhabited by men. It signifies 15 times in a closely related sense the temple, the dwelling place of God. In one of these 15 cases, however, it has a figurative meaning. In 20 instances, the word is a synonym of "family" because, of course, originally the members of a family lived in one and the same house. The phrase "house of David," which we find 3 times, is only a special application of the word in this general sense. The terms "house of Jacob," "house of Israel," "house of Judah," occurring 10 times, belong to this same class. For the people of Israel was believed to have descended from one ancestor and formed accordingly one large family. These facts compel us to translate the first sentence of v. 20, "he came into a house." Whose house it was, we cannot tell.

Nobody would have dreamt of suggesting another translation of ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον, if we did not find in the immediately following v. 21 the statement οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον κρατῆσαι αὐτόν. If Jesus and his companions were in a house, it would be sheer nonsense to say that somebody belonging to that party came out to take hold of him. In order to remove or, at least, to cover up that evident contradiction, the first sentence is slightly changed in translating it. Most men do that without even being aware of it. It is quite natural to them that, since Jesus was not within a house according to v. 21, v. 20 cannot inform us that he went into a house.

But no real advantage is gained by that unconscious artifice. For v. 20 b. indicates clearly enough that Jesus was actually inside a house. We read there: "A multitude gathered again so that they could not even eat bread." Jesus and his disciples

were evidently guests at that house, but the crowd pressed them so closely and questioned them so eagerly that they could not partake of the most simple food, not to speak of more elaborate dishes.

That does not remove the contradiction which exists between v. 20 and v. 21, but confirms as correct that translation of v. 20 which adheres strictly to the New Testament meaning of the word *οἶκος*.

V. 21 presents still another problem. It is contained in the words: "When *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* heard it, they went out to lay hold on him." *Οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* are said to be here the relatives of Jesus, especially his mother and his brothers. But that explanation is undeniably opposed by the general use of the phrase and preposition not alone in the New Testament, but also in all other Greek writers. The phrase occurring in v. 21 may denote indeed the relatives of a person, but such relatives must be descendants. For *παρά* with the genitive signifies that from the side of which something comes. As Jesus had no children, *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* can be only those who acted as his representatives, i. e., his disciples.

Nobody would think of claiming any other meaning for the phrase in our passage, if the proper translation would not emphasize the contradiction between v. 20 and v. 21. For since, in accordance with v. 20, Jesus was together with his disciples in the same house, the latter could not come out of any house for the purpose of seizing the former.

There are still other reasons why it is impossible to suppose that *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* could mean the relatives of Jesus. First of all the verb *ἐξῆλθον* does not fit into the situation even if we should concede that v. 20a might mean "he came home." The simple *ἦλθον* would be much better. The preposition *ἐξ* could only be explained as follows: Jesus and his disciples had settled down for their lunch right in front of his father's house before he had greeted his mother and his other kinsmen who lived there. That unusual spectacle attracted a large crowd. Their noise and tumult induced his brothers to look into the street to behold to their consternation that Jesus was the center and cause of the uproar. Thereupon they rushed out to seize him. "For they said, he is beside himself." One will see at once that the con-

ception of οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ on which this explanation rests must be wrong.

In addition we possess the explicit testimony of v. 31 to the effect that the mother and brothers of Jesus were not present during the Beelzebub and blasphemy dispute. The words καὶ ἔρχεται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ tell us explicitly that the relatives of Jesus appeared on the scene neither before nor during, but after the event related in vs. 20-30.

There is no other satisfactory solution of the problem which confronts us in v. 20 and v. 21 but to recognize in these two verses fragments which originally belonged to two entirely different accounts and have been put together only accidentally by the compiler of our gospel, who with conscientious care collected and preserved every little bit of information about Jesus Christ which came into his possession. To which happenings in the career of Jesus these fragments refer cannot be made out from our passage alone.

V. 21 belongs as little to v. 22 as to v. 20. The scribes from Jerusalem were clearly bent upon breaking and undermining the influence Jesus was gaining over the hearts of the common people. From the present context, it would appear that the disciples or, for that matter, the relatives of Jesus, tried to lay hold on him at the same time, because they were afraid he had become insane. Such an attempt of the nearest relations of the hated teacher would certainly have been welcomed by the scribes. It would have saved them the risk of becoming unpopular they certainly ran when they opposed Jesus in public. All they had to do was to approve of what the relatives of Jesus were attempting. They probably would have said: You are right. This man is beside himself. He must be prevented from inflicting harm upon himself and others. He is very dangerous. Beelzebul, the prince of the devils, has taken possession of him.

Instead of talking in such a vein, they bear witness to the fact that Jesus had cast out devils. Of an act of exorcism, however, neither v. 20 nor v. 21 betrays the faintest knowledge. Besides, such an extraordinary deed, presupposing the possession of extraordinary powers would never have been taken as indicating that Jesus had lost his mind. All the eye-witnesses of such a won-

derful performance would have been filled thereby with wonder and admiration.

We thus must come to the conclusion that v. 21, and v. 22 ff. are loose and disconnected chips of information put together in their present place in a purely mechanical way like beads on a string. For, on account of its missing introduction, even the Beelzebul episode in Mark must be considered as incomplete and fragmentary.

The original introduction of that story in the complete source from which Mark derived his information must have been similar to the introduction we find in Matthew and Luke. In the former we read, f. inst.: "A demoniac who was blind and dumb was brought to him. And he healed him so that the dumb man spoke and saw. And all the people were amazed and said, "Is not this man the son of David?" To counteract this overpowering effect which the healing of the possessed one exercised upon the mind of the people, the Pharisees stooped to the base slander: "He casts out the devils only by Beelzebul, the prince of the devils." There is no necessity of explaining how natural, logical, and historical that is.

These observations render it quite clear that the Mark-pericope of the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit can hardly be styled a model of plain and simple story telling. It has proved to be a mosaic composed of at least three different and incongruent layers. For that reason we cannot be very sure whether, in the end, vs. 22-30 will not appear likewise to be, not one organic whole, but a collection composed of different pieces. But since the text presents no marked inconsistencies, this question cannot be answered at present.

MATTHEW 12, 22-37.

Turning now to Mat. 12, 22-37, that version of the blasphemy-account appears to agree perfectly up to the end of v. 31 with the Mark-pericope, putting, of course, aside the introduction which Mark has omitted. One might even prefer the Matthew-version to that of Mark chiefly because it is complete. Yet two little additions, intended to make the wonderful healing of the demoniac look still more wonderful, have crept into the text. The

Beelzebul-episode in Matthew has its parallel in Lk. 11, 14 ff. According to Luke, the possessed one is only dumb; Jesus by casting out the unclean spirit restores his faculty of speech. Mt. 12, 22, he is called the first time τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός. But, the second time, in the same verse, he is simply κωφός just as in Luke. My impression, therefore, is that both the words τυφλὸς καὶ as well as καὶ βλέπειν are glosses in Mt. 12, 22. The strange order, first, blind and dumb, then, hear and see, does not recommend itself to my feeling as a stylistic trick, a so-called chiasm. I am rather inclined to behold therein the hand of one, if not two glossators. But, it has to be admitted that this is a point of very subordinate importance.

A really important difficulty arises when we come to v. 32-37. The whole tenor of these sayings is indeed in harmony with what Jesus has said before about Beelzebul and about the blasphemy. But we meet with the same sayings elsewhere, not alone in Luke but also in Matthew itself, in quite a different connection. Cp., with v. 33-35, Mt. 6, 16-18 & Lk. 6, 43-45. We therefore may, we almost must, doubt whether they form an original and integral part of the Beelzebul-and blasphemy-speech. In that respect, the Mark version is superior to that found in Matthew.

We might, however, remove these difficulties by supposing that the compilers of sayings of Jesus added together all the words of the Lord that had come to their knowledge either as they happened to find them or as it seemed best in their judgment. That we find them now standing close together is not in itself an unassailable proof that they were uttered by Jesus as organic parts of the same discourse.

It is especially v. 32 which has always presented the greatest difficulties to the commentators. It reads: "Whosoever speaks a word against the Son of Man, shall obtain forgiveness; but who speaks against the Holy Spirit shall obtain forgiveness neither in the present world nor in the world to come."

This statement has been quoted before in order to emphasize that blasphemy against Jesus is not necessarily identical with a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. But since the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit consists both in Mark and Matthew in a blasphemy against Jesus, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to define the difference. Allen (*Int. Crit. Comment., Mt.* p. 136)

says: "Of the two, Mark's phrase is probably the more accurate translation. 'Anything shall be forgiven to men save blasphemy against the Holy Spirit,' gives a clear and intelligible meaning. On the other hand, 'Opposition to the Son of Man is pardonable, opposition to the Holy Spirit is unpardonable' is difficult to explain."

One might say: The slandering of Jesus by the scribes was not a blasphemy because it was intended to hurt Jesus. It would have been a blasphemy also if it had been directed under similar conditions against anybody else, f. inst., against one of his apostles. The corresponding application would accordingly be as follows: Everybody commits the sin of blaspheming against the Holy Spirit who, from motives of envy and hatred, stigmatizes a good deed of any person as a wicked deed. But, still the question would be whether Jesus really intended to express that idea. It would certainly be a strange phenomenon that the commentators have not accepted long ago this apparently so simple explanation.

Some have suggested that v. 32 is merely a repetition of v. 31. The two verses are according to their opinion nothing but two different versions of one and the same saying with a strong probability that v. 31 preserves the original form.

One fact cannot be denied. The Matthew-account contains serious difficulties. We must therefore admit that something is wrong with the saying of Jesus about the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit in Matthew not less than in Mark. That conclusion is of a nature to cast serious doubts upon everything that has been advanced so far in order to define wherein the unpardonable sin of blaspheming against the Holy Spirit really consists. Of course, there are many who cut the knot by saying: Everything is clear and intelligible in Mark. What that plain and simple narrator records must be the truth. If the verbose Matthew, who inclines to repetitions, does not agree with Mark, so much the worse for Matthew. It only demonstrates that he is the less reliable gatherer of the apostolic traditions. But who has the authority of assuring us of the absolute reliability of Mark? Who has given us the right to extol the one above the other? Who permits us to neglect and bury in silence the testimony of any of them?

In any case, the excellencies so generally credited to Mark have thus far not been discovered in the Beelzebul-blasphemy-pericope. The aphoristic character of the introductory verses in the Mark-account raised rather the question whether the later verses might not likewise turn out to be disconnected sayings of Jesus. It is furthermore out of the question to determine with any degree of assurance the relationship of the here discussed passages in the two gospels. One thing is sure. Mark cannot have had before himself the Matthew account while he incorporated the pericope in his work. For no sensible reason can be stated why he should have omitted on purpose the original introduction, contained in Matthew. On the other hand, we cannot say that Mark's pericope is the older model on which Matthew based his account. The latter's introduction awakens in no way the suspicion of being an afterthought.

But even if we pass by the introduction, the shortness and simplicity of the Mark account is by no means a sure indication of its greater age. If anybody attempts to review shortly the Matthew pericope, his account is bound to be more or less identical with the Mark-pericope, and Mt. 12, 32 will surely be omitted. A second version of any story, as a second edition of any book, is, as we all know, not always less distinct and more verbose in its statements than the first. A second narrator may, and generally will, improve on his model.

The Mark-pericope may therefore after all be older than that handed down in Mark. The former in any case has made use of a complete source, whereas Mark has relied on a defective copy. But that does not mean that we have to solve the extremely difficult problem as to how the synoptists are related to each other. I only desire to make it quite clear that Mark and Matthew do not enable us to answer definitely and convincingly the question wherein the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit consists. Mt. 12, 32 seems to indicate that there existed a double tradition of the blasphemy-saying.

LUKE 12, 1-12.

We are extremely fortunate in possessing additional material for our investigation in Lk. 12, 1-12. But there, the first thing

to strike us as strange is that the Beelzebul-episode in Luke and the blasphemy-saying are separated from one another. The healing of the dumb demoniac and the Beelzebul-dispute, called forth thereby, are contained in Lk. 11, 14-26. The blasphemy-saying, however, is found in Lk. 12, 1-12. These two, in Luke altogether independent pericopes are divided in space by the rather long passage, Lk. 11, 27-53.

But there is still another and even more significant difference to be observed between Mark and Matthew on the one hand and Luke on the other. Lk. 11, 14-26, just as Mk. 3, 22-30 and Mt. 12, 22 ff., Jesus addresses the general public, including those who had tried to cast suspicion upon him as being in partnership with the evil one. But what he has to say Lk. 12, 1-12 is meant exclusively for his intimate disciples. That follows in the first place from the short sentence which introduces the words of Jesus. *ἦρξατο λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ* (v. 1). It furthermore appears from the whole tenor of the speech. It is composed of advice, admonition, warning, and encouragement—of interest, not for the great mass of the people, but for his chosen fellow-laborers. It is finally confirmed by the fact that the greater portion of the pericope (Lk. 12, 2-9), has its parallel in Mt. 10, 26-33. The latter passage belongs likewise to the body of those instructions which Jesus, according to Matthew, gave to his twelve apostles just prior to their first missionary journey.

Nothing but the words *ἐν οἷς ἐπισυναχθεισῶν τῶν μυριάδων τῶν ὄχλου ὥστε καταπατεῖν ἀμήλους*. (Lk. 12, 1) seems to oppose that view. But those words must have been added to the original text by the editor. They have caused as such the insertion of *πρῶτον* after *μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ* in v. 1 b. That little word was to hide as far as practicable the direct contradiction between the editorial statement and the original introduction of the missionary instructions, given by Jesus to his disciples. What Jesus has to say in v. 2-12 was neither intended for the general public nor spoken in the presence of a tumultuous multitude so unruly that people were trampled upon. Jesus, as a matter of course, as well as all other sensible men, has always taken care to make his private communications in private. Mt. 10, 27 seems to state directly that Jesus was alone with his apostles when he was preparing them for their missionary work. But the editor of

the gospel took it evidently for granted that Jesus, when teaching, was constantly and everywhere surrounded by an enormous gathering of listeners. The sayings of Jesus, contained in Lk. 12, were in his estimation so important that he supposed they were pronounced in the presence of an innumerable throng. Their importance for those whom they concerned cannot indeed be overestimated. But that does not imply that Jesus at that occasion cast his pearls before swine.

The Luke account differs not alone with respect to its position from that of the two other gospels. There exists yet another difference of much greater significance. In Mark and Matthew, the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is a sin of the scribes and Pharisees, the outspoken opponents of Jesus. In Luke, this blasphemy is a sin against which Jesus warns his most intimate disciples, the men destined to propogate his work. Not his irreconcilable enemies, but his nearest and dearest friends are exposed to the danger and temptation of rendering themselves guilty of that most heinous, in all eternity unpardonable sin. The supreme importance of that fact cannot be stated too emphatically.

In spite of all these differences most commentators dismiss the Luke-account simply with the remark: "We cannot doubt that Matthew and Mark give the actual historical connection of the blasphemy saying." (Plummer, *Int. Crit. Comment.*, Lk. p. 321.) The only possibility of ascribing to the Luke version any value whatsoever, these people find in assuming that Jesus may have used the phrase of blaspheming against the Holy Spirit at more than one occasion. But that device must not be taken too seriously. We all know well enough that Jesus cannot have condemned more than one sinful act as the same and, moreover, alone unpardonable sin. Sensible people are well aware that there is but one superlative.

Bearing in mind that we discovered different elements in the beginning of the Mark pericope, we can no longer absolutely deny that Mk. 3, 28-29 may have been taken from a source foreign to Mk. 3, 22-27, quite as well as v. 20 and v. 21. That possibility is not weakened by the queer character of the Matthew account, especially of Mt. 12, 32. If, besides, the Beelzebul-episode and the blasphemy-saying are related in Luke as two en-

tirely independent things which have nothing in common, we must not try to avoid the obligation of examining that strange phenomenon to the bottom.

We are not compelled to probe the whole passage, Lk. 12, 1-12. It is only necessary to determine correctly what v. 10 means in its connection with the two preceding (v. 8-9) and the two following verses (v. 11-12). Those five verses read:

"Everyone who confesses me before the people the Son of Man shall also confess before the angels of God.

"But who denies me before the people shall be denied before the angels of God.

"And everybody who speaks a word against the Son of Man shall obtain forgiveness;

"But who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit shall not find forgiveness.

"Whenever they shall place you before the synagogues and magistrates and rulers, be not anxious how you shall defend yourselves or what you shall say. For the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what you ought to say."

The first thing to be done here is to explain the phrase *εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα βλασφημεῖν*. The verb *βλασφημεῖν* is used by the classical authors only as an intransitive verb and governs either the preposition *περί* or *κατά* with the genitive or *εἰς* with the accusative in order to denote the logical object of blaspheming. In the New Testament age meanwhile, the verb had become transitive and expressed its direct object by the simple accusative. That is done, f. inst., by Plutarch. That is also the usage of the New Testament writers. The verb has accordingly a personal passive in the New Testament. It is used several times absolutely. But, in those cases, the direct object is readily implied from the context. The only New Testament passage where the preposition *εἰς* with the accusative is employed in connection with *βλασφημεῖν* is the saying of Jesus about the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. The verb occurs, by the way, not less than 34 times in the New Testament.

We consequently are bound to conclude that *εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα* can be neither grammatically nor logically the direct object of *βλασφημεῖν* in our passage. The translation "blaspheming the Holy Spirit" would be entirely wrong.

According to the whole context in Luke, the blaspheming against the Holy Spirit must be, in the first place, a sin of the disciples of Jesus. For they are expressly warned to beware of it. In the second place, that sin, in conformity with v. 9, must be an act by which the disciples denied and blasphemed their master before men. In the third place, according to v. 11, that abominable offense is committed before either an ecclesiastical or a secular court of justice.

We may therefore assert with confidence that, in Luke, a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is done when disciples of Jesus, out of fear of human judges deny and blaspheme their Master in public. Public blaspheming at such occasions was, at that time, quite a usual thing both among Jews and Gentiles. It probably was demanded by law. The old bishop Polycarp declared before his judges: "I have served Christ for eighty-six years; and he has done me nothing but good. How could I blaspheme him, my Lord and Savior?" Mart. Polyc. 9 Ep. Eus. H. E. IV 8, 4; V 1, 16; 25. That the same custom prevailed in the synagogues, is evident from Act. 26, 11. The apostle Paul speaks there of his own doings as persecutor of Christians. "I punished them oftentimes in all synagogues and compelled them to blaspheme." The direct object, which is not expressed, in Lk. 12, 10, as well as in Act. 26, 11, is therefore *Jesus*.

At the first glance, this explanation seems to be at odds with the first half of Lk. 12, 10. "Everybody who speaks a word against the Son of Man shall obtain forgiveness." But the blaspheming of the Son of Man in the second half of the verse is, in the first place, modified by the prepositional phrase *εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*, it is called, in the second place, *βλασφημεῖν*, a legal term of special and well known meaning, and is in both ways sufficiently distinguished from any general ill-speaking against Jesus. The first sentence refers to utterances of hatred, coming forth from the mouth of adversaries of Jesus. They are expressions of an honest, though a mistaken, conviction cherished at the time. They may, for that very reason be forgiven. The prayer of Jesus, "Father forgive them. For they know not what they are doing," applies to such attacks of an ignorant fanaticism. The first sentence of Lk. 12, 10 (cp. Mt. 12, 32),

states thus distinctly that the Beelzebul-slander of Jesus by the scribes was not a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit at all. The second sentence of v. 10 speaks of a denying and blaspheming of Jesus by his convinced adherents, who, under compulsion, from pale fear of men and abject cowardice gainsay and curse their true belief. That must indeed be considered an unpardonable sin. For it endangers the existence of the kingdom of God. Enmity of any kind may be overcome. Cowardice is condemned to be conquered without hope.

Such a public blaspheming of Jesus may fittingly be called a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. Jesus and his disciples knew that belief in Jesus Christ was the fruit and result of a special revelation of the Holy Spirit. When, according to Matthew, Peter had confessed: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God!" Jesus answered: "Thou art blessed, Simon son of Jonah. For flesh and blood has not revealed that to thee, but my Father in heaven." Paul writes 1 Cor. 12, 3: "Nobody who speaks in the spirit of God blasphemes Jesus; and nobody can say 'Lord Jesus' except in the Holy Spirit."

In this way, blaspheming Jesus out of cowardice, against one's true conviction, against the testimony of the Holy Spirit in one's own heart, constitutes the eternally unpardonable sin of blaspheming against the Holy Spirit. That is confirmed finally by the words of v. 12: "The Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what you ought to say." When the disciples in such a dangerous hour will listen to the voice of the Holy Spirit in themselves, instead of denying and blaspheming Jesus against that testimony, the right words of proper defense will rise to their lips so to say automatically, without a conscious effort on their part because the Holy Spirit will speak through them.

CLOSING REMARKS.

The preceding investigation has demonstrated that the synoptic gospels contain a double tradition of the saying of Jesus about the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. The one is presented by Mark. According to his account, that blasphemy is a sin of which the scribes, opponents and enemies of Jesus, have become guilty. That conception renders it very difficult, if not

absolutely dangerous, to apply the saying of Jesus to our own times and conditions. Our personal opinions, especially those of a religious nature, are in most cases so clear and convincing, so sensible and self-evident in our own eyes that we cannot understand how anybody may reject them. Thus we are tempted ever again to behold in such deviations from what is in our judgment the only truth a sure indication of a perverse will, of a hardened heart, of the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit.

In the Luke account, on the other hand, that blasphemy is not a sin which we have to espy in the conduct of other people but for which we have to look alone into our own hearts. We ourselves may deny and blaspheme that Jesus Christ whom the Holy Spirit has revealed unto us. In dealing with this sin, there is not the least danger of doing injustice to our fellow-men. The worst thing we might do would be to deceive ourselves and to imagine never to have blasphemed against the Holy Spirit long after having done so. Nowadays, of course, nobody is forced to deny and blaspheme the Lord in such a brutal manner as during the apostolic and the first succeeding ages. But it may happen that, now and then, a man denies his true religious convictions and even engages in combating them in others by word of mouth or with his pen, because he is anxious to secure certain material advantages he could not gain otherwise, or to avoid and conciliate the enmity of such upon whose good will his worldly success depends. But, we are bound under all circumstances to search our own heart and conscience, not that of other people, for that grievous fault.

The account of Matthew stands midway between Mark and Luke. Mt. 12, 22-31 is a parallel version to Mk. 3, 22-30. Mt. 12, 32, however, is clearly parallel to Lk. 12, 10. That latter relationship is the more important as the commentators have always had a strong feeling of the disagreement between Mt. 12, 31 and Mt. 12, 32.

The differences between the Mark-and the Luke-version are of such a kind that they exclude each other. Either the one or the other account hands down to us the original blasphemy-saying of Jesus. Matthew cannot be called up as witness to decide the question. He simply testifies to the existence of both traditions. Since thus the weight of outward testimony is equal on both

sides, only inward reasons and considerations can induce us to prefer either the Mark-or the Luke-account.

One might say indeed that the evident organic unity of the Luke account is a strong indication of its original genuineness as compared with the fragmentary character of Mk. 3, 20-30.

Besides, there is a second consideration which seems to incline the balance in favor of the Luke-tradition. It is more than difficult to conceive how, as a later development, the Luke-version could have grown out of an original Mark version. The Christians, in very early times, have honored and revered the apostles as almost superhuman beings. It must have seemed incredible to them that Jesus should have had to warn those holy men against the worst of all sins, the only eternally unpardonable offense. Only the inhuman enemies of Jesus were wicked enough to commit such an indefensible act. Nothing was therefore easier than to add such fragmentary sayings of Jesus to words he had addressed to scribes and Pharisees. The opposite process could not be explained psychologically.

Pittsburg, Pa.

ARTICLE VI.

THE QUIN-CENTENARY JUBILEE OF LEIPSIC UNIVERSITY.

BY REV. H. E. BERKEY.

With the close of the Summer Semester, July 31, 1909, Leipsic University completed an existence of five hundred years. The event was celebrated with exercises befitting its importance.

The editor of the *QUARTERLY* in his request for "an account of the great Leipsig Jubilee," has included the suggestion, "together with such historical matters as are germane." Acting on this suggestion, we notice:

I. THE STAGE OF THE WORLD'S PROGRESS WHEN LEIPSIC UNIVERSITY WAS FOUNDED.

History was then nearing the close of the Mediaeval Period. Dante, one of that period's finest spirits, was not yet a century dead. Petrarch, the father of modern humanism, had gone but a third of a century. Ptolemaic conceptions of the universe still held sway. Half of the world was as yet unknown. America was not discovered. Columbus wasn't even born; neither were Copernicus, Tyco Brahe, Savonarola, Luther—none of the reformers—nor Bacon, Shakespeare, Milton, Newton, Harvey, nor Galileo. Gutenberg was perhaps a boy of nine (birth date uncertain) and printing yet to be invented. The Renaissance was in bloom. The Council of Pisa had just chosen Alexander V. as compromise pope, and thus "the world had the edifying spectacle of three contemporary popes anathematising one another."¹ The Reformation was more than a hundred years in the future.

With this brief view of the world when Leipsic was founded, we notice:

II. THE ORIGIN OF LEIPSIC UNIVERSITY.

Leipsic University grew out of, German writers say, unfair treatment of the German students in attendance at the then

¹ Kurtz: *Church History*, II. p. 147.

great Bohemian university of Prague. Bohemian and other writers think some of the unfairness was on the part of the Germans.²

"Prague was modeled on the status of the universities then of chief note in Europe, as those of Paris and Bologna, where, in questions involving university honors and emoluments, three votes were given to the native, and one vote to the foreign members. But as, during the infancy of the University of Prague, there was a much larger number of students from various parts of the German Empire than from Bohemia, this proportion was reversed. Thus university honors and rewards were almost monopolized by the Germans; and as the native students increased in numbers, this naturally occasioned much chagrin and discontent."³

Jerome of Prague, has left a graphic account of the situation, and of what he and John Huss, afterwards reformer and martyr, and at this time a popular preacher and professor of theology at Prague, did to right it. "The Germans formed the majority, and engrossed to themselves the offices of honor and profit, to the prejudice of the Bohemians, who were stripped of all. The Germans disposed of the university's benefices. They kept its seal. They had charge of its keys. They had three voices out of four in its suffrages, instead of being counted as a single nation.....I perceived this as did Master John Huss,We, therefore, in order to put a stop to these things, went to the present king of Bohemia....."⁴ This appeal resulted in "the famous decree of Kutna Hora" to reverse the representation in the university.⁵

When the universities of Vienna, Heidelberg, and Erfurt, were founded, the number of German students at Prague decreased. Yet, owing to the original rule of representation, the Germans still controlled. Huss admitted the original justice of the rule, But now that conditions were reversed, he argued, the rule should be reversed also. At this "so exasperated were the Germans that

² Mosheim: *Church History*, Murdock-Ried Tr. p. 528; Count Lützow: *Life and Times of Master John Hus*, N. Y., 1909, pp. 67 f.

³ Rogers: *Essays (The Story of John Huss)*, pp. 98-9.

⁴ Quoted in Gellert: *Life and Times of John Huss*, 3rd. ed. N. Y. 1871, Vol. II. pp. 223-4.

⁵ Mosheim, p. 528; Lützow, p. 105.

they agreed should the alteration take place, they would leave the university *en masse*; and, it is further said, decreed that if any were obstinate enough to refuse taking a part in this *exodus*, he should expiate his guilt by the loss of two of his fingers. . . . a somewhat curious illustration of the humanising effect of letters."⁶

Whether any fingers were lost, or whether this was only someone's libel of the Germans, we do not know. At any rate the rule was changed by the Bohemians, and the threatened *exodus* of the Germans took place in May, 1409.⁷ The Germans, including the rector Boltenhagen and Professors Hoffman and Von Münsterberg to the number of about four hundred, retired to Leipsic, where under the auspices of Frederick the Valiant, and the decree of the pope (Alexander V., from Pisa, see Friedberg p. 9, Blanckmeister, p. 4) then necessary, Leipsic University was founded.

With this view of the origin of Leipsic, we pass to:

III. LEIPSIC'S RELATION TO THE REFORMATION.

Leipsic's attitude to the Reformation was at first hostile. Though only about forty miles from Wittenberg, the center of the Reformation, Leipsic, at the beginning, held aloof and used her influence against Luther. This was due to Duke George, in whose dominions Leipsic was situated. On the occasion of the Leipsic Disputation, he did indirectly permit Luther to come to Leipsic, "under Carlstadt's wing."⁸ However at the Disputation he took a dislike to Luther, forbade his Bible, had Emser issue a rival New Testament, executed a bookseller who sold Luther's books, and would have been glad to see Luther burned. But the death of this adversary helped the Protestant cause. Duke George's successor introduced the Reformation. Thus twenty years after the Leipsic Disputation, Luther had the satisfaction of preaching in Leipsic at Pentecost. With this change, Leipsic became, and remains to this day, the chief Lutheran mi-

⁶ Rogers: *Essays*, pp. 98-9.

⁷ Friedberg: *Die Universität Leipzig in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, p. 9.

⁸ Köstlin: *Martin Luther sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Band I. S. 238.

versity.⁹ And from the ashes of the executed bookseller there has arisen there the greatest Protestant book trade in the world.¹⁰

Along the line of history, we may notice further:

IV. LEIPSIC'S RELATION TO THE THOUGHT OF HER TIMES.

We have just seen this as to the Reformation. In general, Leipsic from her beginning, through the greater part of her history, with notable exceptions, has been allied with conservatism. Hence Dr. Schaff could write that though distinguished along other lines, "Leipsic rarely gives rise to new ideas or systems of thought."¹¹ Her founders before leaving Prague were on the side of the pope and against Huss and reform.¹² At the time of the Reformation, most of the Leipsic theological faculty were more conservative than Duke George himself. For even though he gave his consent to the Leipsic Disputation, the university theologians for the most part opposed it.¹³

After the Reformation, Leipsic's position theologically varied. At one time liberal, at another time conservative ideas prevailed.¹⁴ Kirn notes the difficulties that were in the way of "every original and vigorous thinker" in the seventeenth century, and the burdens on the faculty, due to the over-working of the Formula of Concord.¹⁵ Pietism was strongly opposed by Leipsic. In recent times, Leipsic has been somewhat influenced by liberal critical thought. But conservative ideas are not by any means unknown there.

⁹ Berlin has more students but is less Lutheran than Leipsic.

¹⁰ Cf. Schaff: *Church History*, VI. pp. 567-8.

¹¹ *Germany, Its Universities, &c.* p. 79.

¹² Lützow, p. 101 f.

¹³ Köstlin: *Martin Luther*, I. S. 237; Brandenburg, et al.: *Die Universität Leipsic, 1409-1909, Gedenkblätter*, p. 8.

¹⁴ Cf. Richard: *The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church*, pp. 527-8; Kirn: *Festschrift zur feier des 500 jährigen Bestehens der Universität Leipzig*, S. 61, 87.

¹⁵ Vor allem bilden die Streitigkeiten über die Lehre ein nie versiegendes Thema. Seitdem in der Konkordienformel der Weg eines detaillierten Lehrbekenntnisses beschritten war, entstandt gegenüber jedem originellen und energischen Religiösen die Frage, ob er nicht gegen diese Lehrnorm verstosse. Sie konnte nur von gewiegten Fachmännern entscheiden werden und die Fakultäten liessen sich die ihnen so zufallende Rolle der Lehrgerichtshöfe, die ihr öffentliches Ansehen erhöhte, gerne gefallen." *Festschrift usw.* Band I. S. 87.

Before passing to a consideration of the *Jubilee* we may notice yet:

V. SOME NOTED LEIPSIC MEN.

Among her leading theological professors in the past have been¹⁶ Selnecker, joint author of the Formula of Concord; Hülsemann, J. B. Carpzov II., J. Olearius, C. A. Crusius; Winer, the New Testament Grammarian, Harless, Kahnis, Luthardt, Lechler, Tischendorf, the New Testament textual critic and discoverer and editor of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, Delitzsch, and Zahn, the greatest conservative professor in Germany.¹⁷

Of present Leipsic theologians, Ihmels and Hauck are the most prominent. Ihmels is professor of dogmatic theology, and an earnest, energetic, thorough, (it need not be added scholarly) advocate of conservative views. He is the head of the *Allgemeine Lutherische Conference*. Hauck is the best historian in Germany. A few years ago his Church History of Germany won the thousand dollar prize for the best work on German history. He is also the editor of the new *Herzog Realencyklopädie*, the most learned work of its class in existence. His style is a marvel of simplicity for a German.

Other noted Leipsic men have been Gellert, Wächter, Gottsched, Windscheid, Thiersch, Roscher, and Zarncke. Among her famous students have been: Körner, Jean Paul, Goethe, Lessing, and Leibniz. August Hermann Francke was a Leipsic graduate, and, for a time instructor. He originated his famous *collegium biblicum* there.

With this view of Leipsic's past we come now to notice:

VI. THE JUBILEE.

The *Jubilee* celebrating the Quin-Centenary of Leipsic, was held July 28-31, 1909.

¹⁶ The *Lutheran Cyclopædia*, article *Universities*, gives Calvo, Quenstedt, and Val. Löschner among leading Leipsic professors. This is a mistake. They were professors but not at Leipsic. Cf. PREß and Blankmeister: *Die theologische Facultät der Universität Leipzig in fünf Jahrhunderten*, pp. 44-51. Selnecker, Winer, Delitzsch, and Tischendorf are omitted from the *Luth. Cpd.*

¹⁷ He has done most of his work at Erlangen. His *Introduction to the New Testament* is the ablest work on the subject. It has been issued more than a decade, yet so far no liberal critic has been able to answer its arguments. It has just been issued in this country in English.

The guests of honor were received in the Hall (*Aula*) of the University on the 28th, 7.30 P. M., and at 9 P. M., went to an informal (from the German standpoint) reception in the Palm Garden.

On Thursday (29th) 8.05 A. M., the king of Saxony, *Rector magnificentissimus* of the University, was received in the royal waiting room of the Dresden depot, and, amidst great demonstrations, conducted to his palace in Leipsic. Later he was conducted to St. Paul's (University) Church where at 9.30 A. M. a religious service was held at which the notables, from the king and the rector of the University on down attended. The first preacher of the University Church, Prof. Dr. Reitschel, preached the sermon. He based it on Ps. 36:9 (36:10 in the German Bible): "For with thee is the fountain of life: In thy light shall we see light." He spoke of the problems science has raised; of the many different world-views that are held in a great university like Leipsic. They all reach the point where they must confess *ignoramus*, we do not know. And with this confession they realize in their hearts, *ignorabimus*, we shall not know. If man's restless intellect seeks after knowledge, his heart desires something more. "My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: When shall I come and appear before God?" When science reaches its limit, man's eye rises to the supernatural, and his heart breaks forth in the consciousness: "Thou, God, hast created us, and restless is our heart until it rests in Thee. With Thee is the fountain of life: In Thy light shall we see light."

At 10.30 A. M., one of the principal exercises of the *Jubilee* was held in the new City Theatre. Here the rector of the University, Dr. Binding, delivered an address of welcome. The king followed in a congratulatory response, whereupon the rector in a further speech, thanked the king. This was followed by a further speech of congratulation by the minister of public worship and education (*Kultusminister*) for Saxony. Next came a deputation of citizens of Leipsic, headed by the mayor. In his congratulatory remarks he said the city was most happy in having a part in the *Jubilee*. As substantial evidence of this he then informed the rector that the city proposed to contribute one hundred thousand marks (\$25,000) as an endowment, the

principal of which is to be kept intact and the interest to be used to provide free board for German students. He at the same time handed the rector a bronze tablet which is to inform future ages of the gift. Of course another *Danksagung* was now due from and was given by the rector.

Next came the congratulations to the university and city of Leipsic, from all the other German universities. To Prof. Windelband, rector of Heidelberg, the oldest of the German universities, was delegated the pleasant duty of doing this verbally. At the close of his remarks the respective representatives of the 21 German universities—Heidelberg, Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Erlangen, Freiburg, Geissen, Göttingen, Greifswald, Halle, Jena, Kiel, Königsberg, Marburg, München, Münster, Rostock, Strasburg, Tübingen, and Würzburg, passed in succession before the rector and handed him the written congratulations of their institutions.

Prof. Weiland, rector of the University of Basle, spoke for the Swiss universities of Basle, Bern, Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchâtel, and Zurich.

For the universities of Western Europe, Holland, Belgium, France and Italy, Prof. Chuquet of Paris, was the spokesman.

The universities of Northern and Eastern Europe, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Russia, and Greece, were represented by Prof. Nireen of Upsala.

The universities of the British Empire, had Prof. Matraffy of Dublin, as their speaker.

For our American universities: the State universities of California, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; Johns Hopkins, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Stanford, Columbia, Cornell, Worcester, and Buenos Ayres, President Schurmann of Cornell, was selected as speaker. He said, among other things, that as yet Germany is in the lead in intellectual matters, but America hopes to attain it. This, however, will only be possible through what America has received from Germany.

The spokesman for the universities of Eastern Asia: Pekin, Tokio, and Kioto, was the Chinese Minister to Germany.

Written congratulations were also received from many other institutions, learned societies, &c., German and foreign, among

them the American Philosophical Society, Drew Theological Seminary, and our own Theological Seminary at Gettysburg.

At the close of this feast of congratulations, the rector once more spoke a concluding word of thanks.

At 6.00 P. M., the same day, a State banquet was given to the guests of honor in the Palm Garden.

On Friday, 9.00 A. M., the main exercises of the *Jubilee* were continued in the Entrance Hall (*Wandelhalle*) of the university. Here the king of Saxony presented the university a marble statue of himself. It was unveiled amidst great applause. The matriculation of the king's two sons, Crown Prince George, and Prince Frederick Christian, as students at Leipsic, followed.

Next came the address of the *Jubilee* delivered by the world-famous psychologist Wundt of the philosophical faculty of Leipsic. That the university and his friends are proud of him was indicated by the prolonged applause that greeted his appearance. He is now seventy-seven years of age, and has published over two hundred articles and books on profound and abstruse subjects pertaining to his department. He spoke for sixty-five minutes in his characteristic way. He took as a basic idea for his address a thought from Leibniz on the course of history: "The past is everywhere prophetic of the future."¹⁸

Following Wundt's address came the conferring of degrees. None but Germans—one Swiss—were honored by the *theological* faculty.

The *legal* faculty regarded the *Jubilee* as warrant to widen the usual limits "Unsere Feier ist ein Weltfest." Therefore on Theodore Roosevelt, designated as "battle-tested, brave, yet peace-working, possessing all the virtues of statesmanship, worthy of a civic crown, having a correct and thorough understanding of German affairs," was conferred the degree of LL.D. "The English ambassador at Washington, James Bryce, an expert on American civic affairs, author of the classic work, '*The American Commonwealth*,' " received a like honor.

At the conclusion of these exercises, there was a mammoth

18 " 'Die Vergangenheit ist überall schon erfüllt von der Zukunft!' Was heute geschieht—so dürfen wir wohl dies Wort umschreiben—, ist vorbereitet in der Lebensarbeit vergangener Geschlechter: und gelingt es uns, die Richtlinien zu ziehen, die das Entschwundene mit der Gegenwart verbinden, so werden uns dese Linien veillleicht auch den Weg in die Zukunft zeigen."

grand parade of students representing historic events in the university's history. The entrance of the students from Prague to Leipsic in 1409; a model of the Prague cathedral with the arms of the four "Nations" represented at Prague; Frederick the Valiant, founder of the university of Leipsic, and his brother William; the entrance of the Wittenbergers—Luther, Melanchthon, Carlstadt, and others—to the Leipsic Disputation; Tilly giving Leipsic Professors safe conduct; Leibniz, Lessing, Goethe, Körner, as Leipsic students; the University prison (Karzer); officers with the new university flag; were among the events portrayed by students decked out in costly costumes representing the times when the respective events transpired. Expert German artists and historians are said to have spent much time—one of them two years—in working up the ideas for this parade. To help make the parade possible, the diet of Saxony contributed thirty thousand marks.

On Friday evening the university and its guests were given a concert by the management of the *Gewandhaus*; and plays from Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller in the new theatre were provided by the city of Leipsic. Later in the night there was a *Jubilee Drinking Bout (Festkommers)* in a special hall erected on the new fair grounds, and said to have been capable of seating ten thousand persons. Of this, judging from reports, the least said the best. One can only regret that with all the culture and refinement, and goodness of heart, one finds among the Germans, such practices of antiquity should still remain to mar the picture. If the burden of supporting the army should in time make beer prohibitive in price, militarism might not be an unmitigated evil for Germany.

This closed the great Leipsic *Jubilee*, save for a royal banquet, given on Saturday evening by the king to specially invited guests at his palace in Meissen.

During these five hundred years of Leipsic's life, marked changes have taken place. Some contrasts are: the number of students first semester was 369, the one thousandth semester the number (including 821 non-matriculated) was 5,402. Earlier the professors and students lived together; now the former in many instances scarcely know the latter. Then the university boarded the students, and unsatisfactory fare was time and again

paraded 'round town; now the students board where they please, and as far as they will permit, are exploited by all manner of schemes for cheap living. Then the students were taxed to maintain a library to which they could not have access;¹⁹ now the tax continues, and the facilities for its use, while in some respects very good, might be decidedly improved as far as modern indexing and promptness of service are concerned.

Before we close, a word ought perhaps to be said concerning:

VII. MEMENTOS OF THE JUBILEE.

These were numerous and varied. Among the best were four hundred thousand *Jubilee Medals* struck off by the mints. These medals are in the form of special two and five mark silver pieces. Instead of bearing as usual the head of the ruler whose province issues them, these on the obverse bear the heads of Frederick the Valiant, ruler of Saxony when the university was founded, and Frederick August, the present king of Saxony. The encircling legend reads: "Friederich der Streitbare Freiderich August. 1409 Universität Leipzig 1909." These medals were given out by the university, mark for mark, in exchange for ordinary coin of the realm. No *student* was permitted to buy more than one of each denomination, possibly because it was deemed unwise for them to "tie-up" more funds, if they had them, in that way. The public could have two of each kind per person. The lining up of students and ex-students under special police supervision to secure these mementos, was one of the interesting events of the *Jubilee*. The writer stood in line for more than an hour, in a column four deep, slowly moving forward as the front ten were repeatedly served and dismissed. When he reached the head and got the precious mementos, the line behind him was longer than when he started and *six* deep.

As a whole, the Jubilee was a grand success. It has been suggested, and it is probably true, that it was the greatest event of its kind the world has ever known. With such a past, great things will be expected of Leipsic in the future. As to the realization of these expectations, those who know her best will have the least fear. *Long live Leipsic.*

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¹⁹ Friedberg, p. 54.

ARTICLE VII.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.

BY REV. JUNIUS B. REMENSNYDER, D.D., LL.D.

One of the practical questions of the hour is the relation of the Church to social, economic, civic and governmental efforts for the amelioration of bad conditions and for the uplift and well-being of the masses. That Christianity concerns itself, first of all, with the soul and with the spiritual side is no reason why it should not seek the good of the whole man and his betterment in all the spheres and relations of life. This it does primarily in that the greater includes the less, and it does it indirectly in that when men's ideals are changed or when right principles are inculcated, the leaven tends to spread through all the series of social strata until the whole is leavened.

There remains the question, however, in how far it is correct, judicious and safe for the Church, as an organization, directly to ally itself with distinctively ethical, humanitarian and reformatory movements as such. Social reformers are insistent that the Church should take direct part in these propaganda, that the pulpit should make them its theme, and that all the forces of the Christian organization should be thrown into the arena. The contention is that the Church is losing a large opportunity for usefulness, and also declining in influence with the masses, whereas a contrary policy would win over to her great numbers who now remain aloof, and vastly accelerate her own growth.

The demand is also made that in the curriculum of our theological seminaries less time be given to such studies as Biblical Exegesis, Church History, Systematic Theology, etc., and that a larger sphere be allotted to the practical concerns of every-day living. We should have more chairs for the investigation of topics suggested by Modern Sociology, and the studies of students should more profitably be directed along sociological lines. It is charged that our theological seminaries are doing little, if anything, to equip ministers for the task of reaching the man

with the dinner pail, of bridging over the chasm between the Church and labor.

The question is a vital one, and, as bearing on the legitimate scope of the Church's agency, and also on the favorable or unfavorable estimate held of her by the public at large, should be carefully considered and wisely and decisively answered by every conscientious minister.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIOLOGY.

The manner in which our Lord met these questions, as far as they confronted Him, is, for the student of practical Christianity, of the first importance. Having not Himself whereon to lay His head, and traversing on foot the fields and thoroughfares where He encountered the toiling masses, with His quick and sensitive sympathy He bore all their burdens upon His heart. No burden is more oppressive than that of political bondage. "No yoke," says Macaulay, "is so galling as that of the foreigner." Christ found His countrymen suffering under this well-nigh intolerable yoke, and a great revulsion in the popular feeling toward Him ensued when He declined to interfere.

All that He was willing to do in the premises was to lay down the cardinal guiding principle, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."¹ One of the most fruitful causes of wrong in human society is the maladministration of justice. One such aggrieved party came to our Lord as the imagined adjudicator of all rights, with a request that He intervene. But His only response was, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?"² Yet, who has done so much to subvert the yoke of the oppressor, and to vindicate to nations the right of self-government, and who has so advanced the equal-handed administration of justice between strong and weak, rich and poor, as has the great Teacher?

It was not that He did not smart under the sense of pain for social wrongs and injustices, but that He felt that by embroiling Himself in battle with them He was drawn apart from the supreme mission for which He came, as a spiritual Prophet, to

¹ Mark xii. 17.

² Luke xii. 14.

bear witness to the Truth, and that thereby this wider and greater sway over the well-being of mankind would be weakened. And history has vindicated His far-seeing wisdom and His well-poised judgment.

Thus says Luthardt: "Christianity introduced the era of humanity—of the rights of man. It made no changes in the external arrangements of society; it left laws and privileges, manners and conditions, customs and ranks as it found them; but it introduced a new spirit into all these relations of life. It did not even externally abolish slavery; but it taught all to recognize in the slave a man, a Christian brother, and thus gave an internal blow to this objectionable institution. It raised the condition of women from a degraded to a most honorable and influential one. It made love,—which, as Montesquieu said, at the time of its introduction, still bore only a form which cannot be named,—the noblest and tenderest power of mental and spiritual life. It withdrew children, whom the heathen world had felt no scruple at destroying either before or after birth, from the arbitrary power of their parents as mere property, and placed them under the Saviour's protection by declaring them to be by baptism children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven."³

RELIGION THE CHURCH'S AGENCY OF REFORM.

The same lesson is taught the Church by a study of the course pursued by the primitive fathers. The social situation confronting them was desperate. The masses were regarded as without souls. Three-fourths of human beings were slaves, with their lives at the caprice of their masters. There was no regard for human life. Augustus sacrificed the lives of three thousand men in a sea-fight to delight the blunted moral sense of the citizens. Vices that hide from moral view, unblushingly looked out from the decorations and statuary of the palaces and public baths, as revealed in the unearthed cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. It was almost time, one feels like saying, that such repulsive horrors should be covered by the terrible agency of the volcano. The "social evil" was universal. Plato advocated a

³ "Fundamental Truths of Christianity," Lecture X.

community of wives. So deplorable was the prevalent immorality that even the Roman moralist, Seneca, wrote: "Everything is full of vices and crimes. There is a great struggle who shall exceed in turpitude. Day by day the love of sin increases and shame diminishes."⁴ And the satirist, Juvenal, exclaims: "Truly the present is a ninth age of the world, far worse than the iron age, and one to express whose badness nature herself can furnish no name, and has produced no metal."⁵

And what, now, were the means taken by the apostolic fathers and spiritual leaders of this age to redress these shocking evils and to save society from this awful abyss of sin, vice and misery? They simply held up Christ. They preached the gospel. They called men to repentance and faith. They urged all to become believers. They insisted on Baptism and the Lord's Supper. They declared that regeneration, through the means of grace, was the only hope of the reformation of society. They held to the power of their message to cure these vile conditions and to pour the streams of cleansing, purifying life through all the bogs and quagmires of moral corruption.

In short, their practice reveals their conviction that religion, mediated by the Church, was society's only hope. And the more desperate the social conditions, the more definitely and positively they held the Church to her supreme function. And it is not to be doubted that in this course they were guided by a wisdom not their own. They were led by the Holy Ghost.

That a reaction from the modern tendency to make the Church chiefly a social reform bureau is beginning to appear, is shown by these recent words from the eminent thinker at the head of Princeton University, President Woodrow Wilson:

"I believe that we have erroneously conceived the sphere of the Christian Church in our age. If my observation does not mislead me, the Christian Church nowadays is tempted to be regarded as chiefly a philanthropic institution, chiefly an instrument that shall supply the spiritual impulse which is necessary for carrying on those great enterprises which relieve the distress of body and distress of mind, which so disturbs the world and so excites our pity, among those men particularly who

⁴ Luthardt's "Moral Truths of Christianity," p. 345.

⁵ Ibid.

have not had the advantages of fortune or of economic opportunity. And yet I believe this is only a very small part of the business of the Church. The business of the Church is not to pity men. No man who has recovered the integrity of his soul is any longer the object of pity, and it is to enable him to recover that lost integrity that the Christian Church is organized."

What the minister has to do is to reveal God to men, reveal God to them in their own spirits, reveal God to them in thought and in action, re-establish the spiritual kingdom among us, by proclaiming in season and out of season that there is no explanation for anything that is not first or last a spiritual explanation, and that man cannot live by bread alone.

And this conservative, far-seeing sagacity, this strength with patience, this faith in her spiritual weapons, has characterized the Church of Christ in every age.

The first mission of the Church is spiritual. Her work is to reconstruct the moral nature. She is to awaken the soul from its death in trespasses and sins. She is to be the interpreter of Religion. She is to point men to the higher life. She is to preach to them the Word of God. She is to recreate them by the power of the Holy Ghost. She is to build them up in the image of Jesus Christ. Whatever may be her secondary activity, this spiritual and religious mission must ever be her supreme aim.

THE GOSPEL THE CHIEF MEANS OF REFORM.

Social reform needs reinforcement just at this point. It is not enough to clean up the slums, to build school-houses with play-grounds, to appoint boards of arbitration. All these and countless other reforms are necessary and invaluable. But if they ignore God, what promise is there in them of a complete social evolution? In addition to reform men need to feel that there is something more powerful making for social peace than even better men in a new environment. That something is God. "To make a Church a religious mixture of civil service reform, debating societies, gymnasiums, suppers, concerts, stereopticon lectures, good advice, refined negro minstrel shows and dramatic entertainments, is to bring it into competition with the variety

theatre. And when the masses have to choose between that sort of church and its rival, if they have any sense left within their perplexed heads, they will choose the society theatre. That, at least, is performing its proper social function."⁶ The "up-to-date" minister prides himself in having his hands in everything. Paul said: "This one thing I do." He was all-absorbed in his "high-calling in Christ Jesus." Such a minister gains in dignity and spiritual power far more than he loses by "leaving the Word of God to serve tables" with every propaganda labeled Social Reform. The Church must educate its members in the principles governing social conduct by bringing their lives into vital relationship with God, and then it must leave them to act freely on political or social questions as their judgment may dictate.

And while she has had to bear many reproaches for it, and has lost much superficial applause, there is no doubt that she has thereby achieved incalculably vaster results for the well-being and progress of the race. One by one she has seen the various forms of social injustice weaken and disappear, until, under the influence of her teaching and communion, the worst evils that have darkened the course of human history are now relegated to a forgotten past, or exist but as a by-word and memorial of warning.

For example, the Church as a whole in America was indignantly held to answer because it would not join many of the New England churches in an open campaign against slavery. But the Church felt that, inasmuch as slavery had a quasi-recognition in the Constitution and was held by a large body of citizens to be a political question, it was so involved with existing policies and social conditions that it was beyond its sphere directly to attack it. It assumed that the least harmful and the most thorough method to overthrow what was an undoubted evil was by turning upon it the light of gospel liberty, and asserting those generic Biblical teachings of human brotherhood, under the force of which it must inevitably disappear. And we think the dispassionate judgment of history approves the Church's long-suffering wisdom in that acute crisis.

⁶ "The Church and the Changing Order," Prof. Shailer Matthews, p. 158.

In these lessons of history the Church can find her guiding principles for the present age with respect to the various phases of Social Reform. Take, for example, the relation of the organized Church to organized labor. Here is a statement of labor's demands by a leading representative: "The wage workers, seeing no interest, or but little interest, manifested in the Church in the human side of a religious question, or in the question of bread and butter and a decent living, have naturally drifted away from the Church to a great extent; and I am constrained to believe that they are not going back in large numbers until the Church will emphasize just as strongly the human side of the religion of Jesus Christ as it does the spiritual side."

Were the Church to yield to such an insistence, she would have to reconstruct her organization fundamentally. And such a revolutionary policy would, in the end, overthrow that power which, exerted in accord with her primary character, has been the means of removing so many a yoke from the neck of labor, and elevating the laboring classes to a position of dignity and comparative equality of opportunity such as they had never known but for her potent, beneficial influence. The Rev. Dr. D. J. Burrell, as reported in its *Homiletic Review*, speaks thus for himself and Dr. Spurgeon on this point. "I utterly hate sensationalism. There are no concerts in this church. We eschew every hurdy-gurdy. We use no stereopticon. There is no attempt to win attention by preaching on marriage, on politics, or on *outré* themes. I wish the people to understand that when they come here they will listen to the best preaching that I have the ability to give them on the old gospel lines. The one thing which more than anything else has influenced my ministerial life was a sentence from C. H. Spurgeon. I heard him in his own pulpit say, 'O! I do love to preach the old gospel of my Lord and Savior. The committee on a reform movement came to see me to ask if I would speak at Exeter Hall, but I replied that I would not do it. I am a preacher of the unsearchable riches of Christ. Any blind fiddler could do that kind of work, but I am a preacher.'"

THE CHURCH PRIMARILY A SPIRITUAL TEACHER.

And so, when we are told that we must make the Christian re-

ligion less divine and more human, less spiritual and more social, rather an elaborate organization for social service than a kingdom of God, simply "a union of those who love for the service of those who suffer," and disencumber the Church of the word and sacrament, of creed and confession, of faith and worship, of the agency and power of the Holy Spirit, and of calling men first of all "not to live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God," let us be on our guard.

When Christianity surrenders these, her Samson locks, at the behest of superficial social reformers, she will be false to her high and unique calling as the spiritual teacher of mankind, and she will be shorn of her reformatory power. The Church, as the visible organization of the kingdom of God—the communion of saints—can only do her ordained work in her own way, and by fidelity to her historic conservatism.

As an illustration of the effectiveness of this method, of the Church not entangling herself with compromising alliances with secularistic, social and ethical reform movements, or resorts to legal authority, Kurtz, in his "Church History," has this significant note: "The three inveterate moral plagues of the ancient world, contempt of foreign nationalities, degradation of women, and slavery, were overcome, according to Gal. iii. 28, ('For ye are all one in Christ Jesus,') by gradual elevation of inward feelings, without any violent struggle against existing laws and customs, and the consciousness of common membership in the one head in heaven, hallowed all the relationships of the earthly life."⁷

The Church is not a sociological lectureship. One of the chief reasons why the social influence of the pulpit is not greater among the masses is undoubtedly the fact, that in its zeal to get in touch with the masses it has been nagged into undertaking every sort of reform.

But, in the same proportion as the Church has been diverted from her peculiar field, has she lost not only her religious, but her general social influence. She must, therefore, in self-protection, sternly object to making religion a mere instrument for the furthering of a propaganda which is purely secular. All these efforts to induce the Church to make herself an appendage

⁷ Val. I., pp. 63, 64.

for the advancement of social reform in any of its phases is but another way of saying that she shall be secularized.

No disciple of Jesus is true to his divine Master whose heart does not thrill in response to the cries of humanity suffering from wrongs and vices. And no Church is true to its intent that is not awake to the importance of the various benevolent causes and reformatory movements, inspired by the laudable purpose to aid, help and relieve the needy and downtrodden. Ministers must not merely preach, but engage in a personal ministry of mercy. Laymen must not merely profess religion, but practice it in active lives as co-laborers in every good cause in human behalf. But all this can be most efficiently done without compromising the Church as the instrument of religion and the congregation of believers.

New York City.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE CHURCH AND THE COLLEGE.*

BY REV. PROFESSOR JOHN A. W. HAAS, D.D.

In a very interesting address before the Educational Conference of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church, President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation of the Advancement of Teaching, has discussed the relation of the Christian denominations to the colleges. This address, appearing in the *Educational Review*, published by the Carnegie Foundation, and commented upon by such a journal as *The Nation*, deserves more than passing notice on the part of all devoted to the denominational college.

In its purpose of advancing teaching and raising the standard of education, the Carnegie Foundation, which does not aid strictly denominational colleges, has been compelled to state why it passes by the church colleges. The elimination of the church college from the approved list has necessarily led to a discussion of the denominational college.

The first position which may be taken by a denomination toward the college is thus stated by President Pritchett: "A church may frankly say that, in order to carry out its legitimate work and advance its cause, it must control and direct a certain number of institutions of higher learning in which men may grow up trained in its ideals and devoted to its service." The motives which lie back of this are described as the strong desire to propagate the faith for which the denomination stands, and to train denominational leaders. But it is questioned whether what the Church could do formerly it can accomplish at the present through general education. The cause of the Church has been weakened because it has been induced to aid colleges by adopting institutions that sought the Church to gain a constituency. Education, it is further claimed, ought not to be at present a

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great work of the Church, nor one of the agencies to which it should direct its energy.

In the whole discussion summed up in these leading thoughts, it is supposed that the denominational motive is all-controlling, and that a denominational college exists largely only for its specific church. President Pritchett believes that the average American citizen of religious life and religious aspirations is not wholly in sympathy with such a church college, but it is not sufficiently recognized that the denominational college has been influenced by a wide ideal, and that it combines its historic denominational connection with its larger educational purpose.

It is true that the statement is made: "The wish to bring religious influence into college life is also one which has played a part in inducing organized bodies of Christians to undertake the control and support of colleges. How far this motive has had influence, it is difficult to say." But over against this partial admission, denominational rivalry is made a much larger element than the motive of religious education, and in this assertion full justice is not done to the controlling religious ideal of the denominational college. The weakness of the denominational college is shown in a stronger light than its ruling purpose. No doubt the lack of a true appreciation of just what Christian education is, and what in various ways the church college is doing for Christian education, is responsible for this whole attitude. It is assumed that Christian education in its highest and broadest form is found outside of the church college. And as a basis for the claim that Christian education can be carried on without the medium of a church college, President Pritchett attempts the following definition of Christian education:

"Much confusion has heretofore existed as to just what is meant by Christian education—a confusion which arises partly out of the almost universal failure to discriminate between religion and church membership, and partly out of a lack of appreciation of the intellectual strivings of the college and university student.

"The essentials of religion are the same whether men belong to one religious organization or another. Religion is a life springing up in the human soul which blossoms into forgetful-

ness of self in the service of God and men. This life exists without any reference to the denominational or ecclesiastical definition of it. It has, in fact, to this formal expression much the same relation that the stars have to the science of astronomy, or that the flowers have to botany, or that the chemical reactions have to the text-books in chemistry. Now shall Christian education mean the effort to bring into the minds and into the lives of students the conception of religion as a life, or shall it mean the presentation of the forms of worship of a particular denomination and the claims of a particular view of truth? And shall the methods by which these elemental relations are to be brought to the attention of college boys be those of the congregation, of the Sunday School, of the revival, or shall they take account of the intellectual processes through which the student is developing? Shall they be planned to appeal more directly to the emotions or to the reason?"

In the endeavor to draw a distinction between religion and church membership, an unreal separation is effected. For the life of religion—and religion here means concretely the Christian religion—has been carried on and perpetuated by the agency of the Church, despite her weakness and aberrations. It is the Church and her leaders that have stood for religious ideals which have stimulated others to accept them. It is the Church which has handed down the Bible, and through whose activity religion has been advanced in the world. Consequently, it is an unhistorical and academic distinction which practically tears apart religion and church membership. It is true that outward church membership of itself is no guarantee of religion, but the non-appreciation of what the Church offers is no proof that she is not the purveyor of religion, and that consequently church membership is not a help in the religious life.

Again, the conception of the essentials of religion, as independent of religious organization, is misleading. It rests, perhaps unconsciously, on the idea that the religious fundamentals live on, apart from, and without a religious organization. The historical fact is, that only through definite Christian bodies have the essentials been handed down, and the thought of an existence of them as separate from the actual life of any individual organization, is an academic construction. In the question of

essentials, it is generally the mistaken attitude of to-day to decide upon them by taking the minimum of truth and by making a wide generalization to include as many churches as possible. The real method ought rather to be to determine what the original sources and documents contain, and how these have been historically appropriated. This will result in a much larger body of essentials than is found by the method of reducing them to suit the men whose Christianity is so emaciated that it is almost nothing but theism. Most churches hold to a much larger and fuller conception of religious essentials than simply the idea of God and the moral excellence of Jesus, which is about all that is impressed upon men in the undenominational institution, if there be any direct reference made in the teaching of the college. Therefore it is not the actual statement of the case to speak of the sameness of religious essentials when application is made to all colleges.

Religion is defined as "a life springing up in the human soul which blossoms into forgetfulness of self in the service of God and men," and is supposed to exist without reference to the denominational attitude. This definition is an unpsychological and unhistorical assertion. Religion is assumed to be a life which is purely activity, for I take it that self-forgetfulness is regarded as the way towards service, so that essentially religion is service. Now it is true that action is the end of life, but behind action lie ideas, feelings, motives. And so wherever we may place the main accent in our analysis of religion, if it be regarded in its psychological reality, it must have thoughts as well as feelings, motives as well as attitudes. How can I forget self in the service of God and man without some definite thought as to what God and man is? Why should I serve and how can I best serve? Must these necessary questions not lead back to some ideals of the intellect? Does not the man who makes religion service unconsciously presuppose intellectual convictions? No matter how few may be the creedal elements of my Christian life, they can never be absent. There is no religion without conviction, and conviction implies some relation to the truth, not simply as feeling or willing, but also as intellectual apprehension. Christ, through whom, as reported by John, the thought of religion as life, has actually come to us, combines with the em-

phasis of life, truth. He claims to be the way, the truth, and the life. He is not life simply as service apart from truth. Consequently, when we take the conception of religion as life, which we owe to Christ, it is well to know what He said such life was. And it is in the appropriation of Christ, and in consonance with the experience of what He is to man as an individual and for the race, that close thinkers have felt it necessary to combine truth with life. Because, therefore, truth is a part of the religious life, and because this truth has taken shape and come to historical expression in the various denominations, they stand for the necessity of some definite teaching and truth. It is purely an assumption to say that this life exists apart from denominational definition. Denominational definition may emphasize certain aspects of it, may even misinterpret certain parts of it; but, nevertheless, this life, as truth for the intellect, as truth for the highest emotions, as truth for the noblest service, is actually carried on and forwarded through the agency of the various denominations. If, therefore, there is a value in religion for education, and if, despite their variations, the denominations are the bearers of this life, then they can best undertake religious education.

It is a mistake to suppose that the denominational college lives religiously to present forms of worship, methods of conversion, Sunday School instruction, peculiar views of truth, and that its schemes of teaching religion generally contravene the intellectual ideals of the young students, or fail to meet their honest inquiries. While there may be some teachers of religion in the denominational colleges who misinterpret their places, yet most are doing what the undenominational college never does, that is, leading the growing mind into the larger conceptions of religious truth. They are teaching men to put away childish things in their thinking about religion. In the very large college not under religious control, there is mostly not even a required course in ethics. Only incidentally, but not in a systematic way, are the students taught the great moral relations, in duty, virtue, and the highest good. Consequently, many students live under the impression that there is no systematic and harmonious relation in moral facts. It is the average church college which, apart from any religious teaching, is

keeping alive the practice of making men think in their more mature stage of moral questions by direct teaching and discussion. And thus, in the same way, religion is mostly taught in its great problems and implications. Whatever denominational weakness there is does not detract from the fundamental value of religious instruction. The breadth of college teaching generally avoids that, for it usually passes from a delineation of theism to the great historical and religious claims of Christianity. It is the church college which does not allow non-Christian teachers to promulgate views that are subversive of all religion. The cry which was uttered in a meeting of college leaders at the seventy-fifth anniversary of Haverford College by Professor George Wharton Pepper, that men ought not to be allowed to go astray in the highest issues of life for want of guidance, has been answered by the denominational college. It puts before men the great questions, the great duties of the present, and also the great assertions of religion.

Because the denominational college takes this attitude, it can claim what President Pritchett asserts as the second possible position, namely the right of the Church to control the colleges on the ground of "its fitness and efficiency as an educational agency." The educational right of the denominational college rests upon the place which religion has in forming character. If education means simply efficient methods of imparting knowledge, high intellectual standards of scholarship, excellent administration, and if the finality is not character, and if in developing character religion is not most powerful, then the church college has no claim to existence, and the sooner it closes, the more effectively a great waste will be done away with. But if religion is a necessary factor in full and harmonious education, then the denominational college can claim its place in the educational work with strong assurance. The church college has greater religious power because it adds to the free association among young men the definite teaching of religion; its professors stand for something, and they have a motive to present. It is the very absence of a strong religious and moral motive which is being felt in much present-day education. But the denominational college has great opportunity to present the controlling motive because it adds to the usual duties of men the highest

sanction, and hallows all relation to men by man's faith in God.

Furthermore, because religious influence is usually brought to bear upon young men through the teaching of the Bible, the denominational college makes for greater literary efficiency of all its students. It dares to interpret not only the body, but the soul of Biblical history and truth. It does for all its students what is done for some by the general literary course of colleges, in teaching the Bible as literature. But it accomplishes more, in that not simply the linguistic form and the outward content are noted, but the inner power is permitted to have its influence.

In the presentation of religion the denominational college also leads many, who may not take any philosophical course, to consider some of the highest problems of existence, and to adjust laws of nature and postulates of science to the implications of God, immortality, righteousness, and freedom. Many church colleges still retain, even apart from religious instruction, a required philosophical course, so that the student may be led to trace facts back to first principles, and to distinguish in every science between data and inferences. It thus makes clearer and more balanced thinkers. But even when the philosophical course is not obligatory, religious instruction supplies some of the training gained in thinking about great masses of facts from great unifying principles.

There is also in religion a wonderful cultural power. It refines and elevates thoughts, feelings, and will. In such uplift there is none of the danger of mere estheticism, which often fails to make strong men through its cultivation of admiration for beauty alone in literature, fine arts, and music. Religion makes deeply sensitive as well as strongly active men. Because it is thus the most effective cultural power, it fulfils the cultural longings of other specific culture studies. Through it, also, men can understand some of the most wonderful creations of all art, whether in stone, on canvas, or in tone. It is the key to the whole art of the Middle Ages. But as this art is bound up with the life and history of the Middle Ages, there can be no full understanding of this history without a realization of the religious motive. Still less can the dawn of modern history be rightly appreciated in the movement of the Reformation, unless the great intellectual, cultural, economic, social, and political

changes are seen emanating from the upheaval which the religious experience, leading to freedom of conscience, brought about. Consequently, for these reasons and others, which might be named, the education that includes religion furnishes a larger key to unlock the history of the past to explain the present, than the education which neglects this fundamental fact in human life and history.

Now it may be admitted that sometimes there is a departure from the highest ideals and practices in the denominational college. Where are ideals fully carried out? It may also be true that there has at times been a lack of making all the activities and life of the church college consonant with its profession; that there have been sins of omission and commission in methods. In athletics, sins are to be named that obtain in colleges where the Christian motive is not directly emphasized. And if such wrongs are constant, a denominational college has lost its savor and is only worth being cast out and trodden underfoot. But, nevertheless, the failure to realize the ideal is no disproof of the ideal. It is entirely true that there has sometimes crept in a mechanical conception of religious education, and that there has been an educational insincerity in the claims of some denominational colleges. President Pritchett is entirely right when, in this respect, he calls those that are sinners to repentance. It is a shame and a denial of the claim of its fundamental religious attitude for a college to aspire to do what it can not do rather than to be content with the name of academy; and it is equally wrong when a legitimate college inflates itself with the name of university. However, the denominational college has not been the only sinner in this matter. It is also true that sometimes churches have not valued their own institutions, without which their continuance would not have been possible. But to-day greater activity is evident, and equipment is being brought up to modern requirements. It is a mistake, as all admit, when a church has more colleges than it needs. But the mistake, in a very few instances, does not justify the impression that there is a general overlapping.

The third attitude of President Pritchett is that "a Christian organization may take the position that all colleges and universities, being influenced by agents in the training of men, are

also agencies for moral and religious influence, and therefore the Church will seek by friendly co-operation, by sympathetic fellowship, by all the means of Christian activity, to make itself a religious influence in all institutions of the higher learning without assuming their control or support."

A very important condition is touched in this position. Never are all the students of a church in its own institutions. The better it covers the field of general classical training, which is its specific problem, the less can it meet the demands of fullest scientific and technical training. Consequently many of every church will be studying beyond the direct influence of its own teachers. Now to meet this emergency it seems expedient to undertake what some churches have begun; namely, to organize their own students in every general institution. At the head of such organization there ought to be placed men of the highest type, who are in deepest sympathy with college and university ideals, and who present to the young men the truths of religion as best fitted for their stage of development. But this work can only be done best when connected with the centers of certain denominational colleges, which ought to prepare the men for such labor and stimulate to its continuance. While, therefore, a real duty is put before all churches in the last position indicated by President Pritchett, yet the efficiency of this duty will depend upon such denominational leaders as the denominational college alone can develop.

Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.

ARTICLE IX.

MELANCHTHON'S LETTER ON LUTHER'S MARRIAGE.

BY PROFESSOR J. ALFRED FAULKNER.

Melanchthon was not only not invited to Luther's marriage, June 13, 1525, but he looked upon it as unseasonable on account of the Peasants' War and other troubles, and as likely to lower the esteem of Luther, the monk. On the 16th, he wrote a letter in Greek to his friend Camerarius, soon to be professor of Greek in the gymnasium in Nuremberg, and later at Tübingen, in which he gives his philosophy of Luther's marriage, attributing it in part to his susceptibility to the charms of female society. This letter has been much exploited by Luther's opponents as reflecting on his character (as, for instance, by Evers, *Luther* V. 516, and Denifle, *Luther and Luthertum*, 2 Aufl. I. 283). It will be interesting, therefore, to see what Melanchthon says. Camerarius published this among other letters of Melanchthon in 1569, but in imperfect form. Wilhelm Meyer, in the winter of 1874-5, was fortunate enough to find the original letter in Rome, restored as far as he could the illegible parts, and published the letter in the Proceedings of the Academy of Science of Munich (phil.-philog.-historical class) 1876, 601-4. Another advance was made by an eminent Catholic scholar, Dr. Peter Anton Kirsch, engaged in researches in Rome, who deciphered the letter more correctly, and published it in *Katholik* 1900, 385 ff. (also a separate edition). Professor Nicholas Müller of Berlin, engaged on a supplementary collection of Melanchthon's letters, made a careful study of the original for himself, and thinks he has been able to present it in more accurate form than even Kirsch has done. This text, as thus finally reintegrated, Müller printed in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* January, 1901, 596-8 (vol. 21). The following translation is made from this text. I agree with Müller that the significance of this "instantaneous outpour of Melanchthon's uneasiness and sensitiveness" has been greatly overrated. How far Melanchthon's explanations avail for this event in Luther's life we shall probably never know, but I am

not inclined to place much store by them. We have Luther's own testimony that in the face of illness and of an early expected death, he deliberately married to lay down a witness before God, men and devils of the honorableness of an estate founded by God himself. The suppositions of the disappointed friend both as to the nuns and Luther might well be taken with some grains of salt, though they do not reflect in any essential way on the character of either. So far as I know, this letter has never appeared in English. There is a German translation with notes in Professor Wilhelm Walther's *Das sechste Gebot und Luther's Leben*, Halle, 1893, 95-9.

To Joachim Camerarius of Bamberg great (summo) friend:

"Greeting. Because perhaps contradictory reports have reached you concerning the marriage of Luther, I write to you how I think concerning it. On the 13th of June Luther married unexpectedly the Bora, without previously laying the matter before his friends. But in the evening after he had invited only Pommeranus, the painter Lucas (Cranach) and Appel to supper, he went through the usual ceremonies. Perhaps you could only wonder that in this unhappy time when all noble and good men are in constant distress, that this one (Luther) does not feel the same, but as it appears, prefers to live softly (*τρυφᾶν*) and lessen his esteem or reputation, (*αἰσῶμα*) while Germany needs the most his judgment and his authority. I think, however, the matter has happened in this way. The man (Luther) is very good natured (*ευχερής*), and the nuns by laying plots for him with all their wiles welcomed him with salutations (*προσέσπασαν*). Perhaps also much association (*συνήθεια*) with these nuns enervated or even inflamed this noble and great-souled man. So it appears to me he has been persuaded into this untimely change of his state in life. The babble, however, that before this he had ravished her is a manifest lie. But now that it (the marriage) has happened, we need not take it ill or as a reproach. But I rather believe that by nature we are compelled to marry. This state of life is without glory (*ταπεινός*), but it is holy and more pleasing to God than celibacy. And though I look upon Luther as grieved and confused by this change in his life, yet I will undertake with all zeal and reason to comfort him, as though he had done anything which deserved

reproof or could not be defended. I have indeed positive proofs of his piety (εὐσεβείας) so that it is not permitted to condemn him. For I would rather see him humbled than lifted up and exalted, for this is dangerous not only for the priesthood, but also for all men. For things to turn out well gives a pretext for evil thoughts; not only, as the orator says, to the foolish, but also to the wise. Besides this, I hope that this state in life will make him more grave (σεμνότερον), so that he will throw away his coarse jesting, (βωμολοχία), which I have often found fault with. For a new state in life brings a new mode of life, according to the proverb.

I speak thus at length to you that you may not be too much disturbed by this strange (παράδοξον) event. For I know that you have Luther's honor (αξιωματος) at heart and that you would be cast down to see it lessened. I exhort you to bear these things gently, because in the Holy Scriptures marriage is called an honorable life. It is likely that to marry is in truth a necessity. For God has pointed out to us many mistakes (πταίσματα) of the saints of old; so he wills that we, rubbing ourselves against his Word as a touchstone, should make as counsellor not the esteem or face of men but his Word alone. For he is most impious who on account of the mistake (πταίσμα) of the teacher condemns the teaching.

(The above is in Greek. The last paragraph of the letter is in Latin and refers to other matters).

The custom of Michaelis is very pleasant in these uproars. I admire him whom you suffer to get off with this. By treating the father most courteously, think that you owe this grace to him for paternal love, and cherish him in return. I expect letters from you *de Francicis*... Farewell. After Corpus Christi. Tabellarius, who hands these over, is to return the right things to us.

PHILIP.

Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

ARTICLE X.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

I. IN ENGLISH.

In an article in the August number of the *Homiletic Review* entitled "American Theology as Seen by a Scottish Theologian," Dr. James Orr of Glasgow, speaks of the continued interest in doctrinal theology as shown in the appearance of Dr. Strong's *Theology* in three large volumes, Dr. W. A. Brown's "Christian Theology in Outline," Dr. W. N. Clarke's "Christian Doctrine of God," and similar works. The last mentioned has excited probably the chief interest, both on account of its felicitous presentation of the subject, and its departure from conservative lines. For instance, it does not mention the pre-existence of Christ.

Probably no single utterance during the last half-year has received wider notice than Dr. Eliot's address on "The Religion of the Future" before the Harvard Summer School of Theology. The full text of the address appears in the October "*Harvard Theological Review*." It is simply a presentation of the old Unitarianism, modified by natural science. The paper bears the mark of hasty preparation and is quite inexact in the use of the word religion. It would have passed unnoticed but for the name of its distinguished author. The New Religion is characterized as follows:

(1) "The religion of the future will not be based on authority, either spiritual or temporal." Neither the Church nor the Bible will be recognized as authoritative. These are purely human.

(2) "There will be no personifications of the primitive forces of nature." Of course not. No civilized land or religion does this now.

(3) "There will be in the religion of the future no worship,

express or implied, of dead ancestors, teachers or rulers." This is a repudiation of our Lord's divinity.

4) "In the religious life of the future the primary object will not be the personal welfare or safety of the individual in this world or any other * * * but of service to others, and of contributions to the common good."

(5) "The religion of the future will not be propitiatory sacrificial, or expiatory." This is a thrust at the cross of Christ. We do not believe that any religion can live without "the blood." Unitarianism itself is an example of an effete religion.

(6) "The religion of the future will not perpetuate the Hebrew anthropomorphic representations of God. * * It will not think of God as an enlarged man." "The scientific doctrine of one omnipresent, eternal Energy" has evidently inspired Dr. Eliot.

(7) "The religion of the future will not be gloomy, ascetic, or maledictory."

In the positive view of the New Religion Dr. Eliot says many good things. The gist of it, however, is humanitarianism. Having uncrowned our Lord, he says, "Finally, this twentieth-century religion * * * is in essential agreement with the direct, personal teachings of Jesus, as they are reported in the Gospels. The revelation he gave to mankind thus becomes more wonderful than ever."

The October number of the *Harvard Theological Review* presents "some aspects of the religious philosophy of Rudolph Eucken" by Rev. Howard W. Brown, who says:

"In Eucken's philosophy we have mankind once more occupying that central place on the wide stage of the physical creation which ancient poetry and religion assigned to human beings; and we are thereby delivered from that feeling of the littleness and the worthlessness of our life which finds so much sad expression in modern literature. We have this child of Deity, inheritor of the freedom and the creative faculty belonging to the sons of God, set to do battle with oppositions that surround his steps; made to achieve greatness only by stout courage and tireless industry.

"Above all, we have man forced to hard conflict with an in-

ward foe; incapable of peace and rest save as he stands, at least for the moment, victorious over the tempter in his own heart.

"All this may be held to reflect very closely the common consciousness of what life is, and therefore we have reason to say that religion has by no means fallen out of date. Every prophet who only professes to show how God may be man's helper through these ways of difficulty and trial can be sure of some hearing and following, according to the boldness of his promises, though his offer be little more than an empty boast. And when one does really bring the might of the Spirit to their aid, mankind will be almost ready to worship him as if he were a god."

In the October-November number of the *Union Seminary Magazine* of Richmond, Va., Dr. H. E. Kirk discusses Pragmatism, of which Prof. William James of Harvard is the American exponent. Pragmatism professes to show how to separate the necessary modicum of truth from the debris of speculation. It tests all theories by their practical consequences. Do such views help or hinder life? If they help they are true for you; if they hinder then they are false. The master-word of pragmatism is: *truth is what works*.

The question of man's nature is a vital one. Is he spiritual or material? Upon examination the materialistic program offers no promise; it issues on the contrary in ruin, disaster and death—a tragedy. The theistic view on the other hand is full of promise. It offers a future of hope, of everlasting life, a spiritual millenium; therefore the pragmatist decides for the theistic view on utilitarian grounds.

In the October number of *The Reformed Church Review* Dr. William C. Schaeffer discusses "The Rights and Limits of Biblical Criticism." The rights of the textual critic "are as full as the evidence of his manuscript goes. * * * He is limited to the determination of the text. When this is accomplished his mission is at an end." "The higher criticism is simply a method of study; its aim is to ascertain all that can be known with reference to the origin, the history and the authenticity, the character and the original meaning of a writing." "The higher critics are strictly within their rights so long as they con-

fine themselves to the literary and historical study of the Gospels without prejudices or prepossessions which may warp their conclusions." The limitations of the critics are "the legitimate methods of literary and historical investigation," "the intellectual equipment of the critic," "undoubted facts on which to base conclusions," and "the ability of the critic to judge." "All depends on the man, on his character, his equipment, and his judgment."

The Hibbert Journal for October has an illuminating article on "Modernism: A Retrospect and a Prospect," by the Rev. Alfred Fawkes, M.A. The rise of modernism in the Catholic Church is attributed to Pope Leo XIII., who, though not a liberal, was scholarly and saw the necessity of throwing open the Vatican library to students. He made overtures to the Liberals, and encouraged historical research. An ecclesiastic, and a man rather of letters than of learning, he did not really understand the liberal standpoint or see how wide a departure from the tradition it involved. When it became evident that things were going further than he had thought, he was puzzled, and temporized, and left the decision to his successor. For Modernism and Modernists with the death of Leo XIII (1903) the deluge came. In modern thought, in modern life, in modern society, Pius X. saw the uprising of the world against the Church, of the laymen against the priest—a rebellion against the theocracy. In July, 1907, the decree condemning sixty-five propositions of Modernism was published. And what is the end going to be? "The Papacy is, and will be for long, a force in politics. It can command votes, it can effect combinations, it impresses the imagination; it bulks large before the world. But it is a declining power. The stars in their courses fight against it; the forces which are making history are on the other side. Silently, ceaselessly they work. Like a majestic iceberg detached from some Arctic continent, it moves southward from the Polar Ocean, a fragment of a dead world. Ghostlike, a peril to mariners, it towers over the waters that wash its base: its peaks glitter in the sunlight; its cliffs reflect the blue of sea and sky. And while the process of undermining is going on, the frozen mass encount-

ers kindlier currents; the temperature rises; a little sooner, a little later it may be, there can be but one end."

In the same journal Prof. Browne writes of "Darwin and Darwinism." He gives Darwin credit for patient and careful investigation. Darwin's contribution to evolutionary thought was his doctrine of "the origin of species through natural selection." Concerning this Prof. Browne declares that whatever may be true of the doctrine of natural descent, natural selection in its original form is obsolescent and largely obsolete.

"Does the Historical Study of Religions Yield a Dogmatic Theology?" is the question which Prof. Hugh R. Mackintosh of Edinburg, asks in the October, *American Journal of Theology*. The science of comparative theology is proposing to take over the business of Christian theology. It is making great claims. By laying down certain canons of criticism and by ignoring certain great facts pertaining to Christianity and assuming as true unproved propositions, it makes Christianity appear a syncretism. Prof. Mackintosh after examining the claims of this historic study of religion from the three points of view—criticism, analogy and relativity—pronounces the result to be of a negative and unsatisfactory character. The service of exegesis may be freely acknowledged, but to Christian theology it is useless. "For there is no evading the principle laid down by the instinctive feeling of the Church: unless a theologian takes the specifically Christian attitude to Jesus—unless with the saints of every time he puts Jesus in the supreme place, a place that covers and determines everything in the relations of God and man—he is not a Christian theologian any more. That which he is building up is not Christianity, but something quite different. It is the outcome of an attempt to make all over again a religion that has passed its nineteen-hundredth birthday."

In an article on "Evolution and Sin," by D. C. Knowles, in the November *Methodist Review*, Dr. Clarke's position as taken in his "Doctrine of God," is called in question. Dr. Clarke is a theistic evolutionist, who believes that not only the human body but also the soul has come up through a long process of de-

velopment. Mr. Knowles characterizes Dr. Clarke's view as "modern heathenism double-distilled!" and as "making God a partner in the introduction of sin." "Man is represented as fresh from the hand of his Creator, 'barely human' submerged in the cesspool of animalism, and slowly emerging from the sewage of the ages with a soul so tainted with the brutal experiences of the past that he can scarcely discern a glimmering of God's will." "The issue resolves itself into this: Did God create man by an evolutionary process, as degraded as herein represented, or did man by disobedience produce his condition? * * On what ground does Dr. Clarke assert such a philosophy of origins? At the dictum of an unproved scientific hypothesis, one so imperfect that its own advocates cannot agree how it all came to pass. Its history is a repetition of the biblical history of the Tower of Babel." The evolutionary hypothesis in regard to sin is contradicted by the universal traditions of mankind. History predicates a golden age in the past. Evolutionary degeneracy is better established than evolutionary progress. Moreover, the latter is clearly contradicted by the biblical study of the creation and the whole trend of Scripture.

The Princeton Theological Review for October is a Calvin number, containing but two articles, the one on "Music in the Work of Calvin" and the other on "Calvin's Doctrine of the Trinity." The latter by Dr. B. B. Warfield, covers one hundred pages and seems to leave nothing unsaid on the subject. The claim that Calvin contributed anything essential to the doctrine of the Trinity must be taken, it seems to us, with hesitation.

The Review and Expositor for October publishes a fine article from the pen of Prof. David Foster Estes, D.D., entitled "Some Thoughts as to the Effects of the Death of Christ." He starts out by controverting Dean Farrar's declaration that the language of Article iii. of the Augsburg Confession, "He suffered, was crucified, dead and buried *to reconcile the Father unto us*" is not the language of Scripture. Dr. Estes insists that this is the language of Scripture, that Greek word *καταλλάσσειν* is exactly equivalent to the English word "reconcile," and that the Greek word indicates: first, a change, not of temper, but of relation,

and second, that in Greek unlike the English the person who is made grammatically the object of the verb in the active and its subject in the passive, is not the one who changes but the one in whose favor the change is made. This position is substantiated by citations from the classics, from lexicographers, from the greatest commentators and from the best writers on New Testament Theology. The author then cogently and powerfully sets forth the old orthodox doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice of Christ for the sins of the world, and shows that this alone satisfies the human soul filling it with joy in life and with comfort in the hour of death.

II. IN GERMAN.

BY PROFESSOR ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, A.M., B.D.

In selecting from the host of German theological publications it is to be the purpose of these reports to announce the most noteworthy appearances irrespective of party, and to reproduce such a sketch of current thought as shall serve to indicate the results achieved and the lines pursued by the investigators.

During the five years that have elapsed since German theological thought has been reported on these pages there has been a steady change in the array of forces upon the field. New problems have arisen, some of the old have fallen into the background. There has been no cataclysmic transition, no Strauss, no Baur, no Delitsch, no Harnack, to startle the entire theological world and precipitate a "controversy." If there has been anything of such momentous importance it has been more on the order of a Hofmann or a Ritschl and its significance will appear only after a while. And yet the lines of investigation have gradually experienced a slight shift. Old and tried powers have been called from the field either by a venerable old age or by death itself. And the necrology of the last quinquennium contains a number of familiar names: Köberle, Stade, Beyschlag, Pfeiderer, Wrede, Stöcker, Cremer, Gottschick, Hausrath, Hilgenfeld, Zöckler, *et al.* But new powers have arisen to take their places, for the atmosphere continues quick with eager questionings. A few strokes must serve for the present to character-

ize in a very general way the thought-life of Germany. This outline may be developed in later issues to a more detailed depiction of the situation. But straws may show which way the wind blows.

The first decade of the twentieth century has witnessed a number of interesting and significant tendencies. We are on the morning side of midnight and many are the streaks of dawn heralding the advent of a new day. The collapse of theoretical materialism is complete. Realism has increasingly assumed an idealistic, romantic hue. The tendency towards mysticism and metaphysics grows steadily and constantly stronger. The pessimistic conception of reality is still wide-spread, but it begins to issue in optimistic hopes for the future. The reign of naturalism has served to emphasize the impotence of man in his sinful bondage to nature. Socialism has dealt mighty blows to radical individualism and the idea of ethical and aesthetic self-redemption no longer predominates.

The absolute rule of the natural sciences is broken; the independence and inalienable rights of the mental sciences receive wider and wider recognition. Among the speculative sciences large interest attaches to the task of determining exactly the essence of the historical method and its legitimate sphere. The relativity of historical truth must be admitted. The most positivistic must recognize the inevitableness of the personal equation in all investigation. Philosophy has gradually recovered from the fall which Hegel had prepared for it and has taken its place again among the sciences. Its attention is now quite naturally directed along epistemological lines. The grounds of scientific knowing must be determined for the individual sciences. And the right of an inductive critical metaphysics numbers among its adherents a large and growing circle of the ablest thinkers. However, it cannot be denied that neokantianism and positivism continue to hold a large place and various gradations of influence in German philosophical thought.

With reference to the specifically religious elements in German thought-life we may affirm a decided advance. Such a trumpet call to the defence of religion as Schliermacher sounded at the beginning of the previous century is not needed now. Far more does Germany need a mighty plea for the *Christian*

religion and more especially for the Church. For those very elements of religion for which Schliermacher in his day pleaded so earnestly are the most characteristic elements in the religious life of thinking classes to-day. And this, even if it is only a mystic pantheism often verging into the aesthetic—the artful cultivation of personality,—nevertheless marks an advance. That unbounded animosity and frivolous scorn which were so liberally measured out to religion by all classes of society several decades ago are decidedly on the decline in the mental atmosphere of the present. This general reversion to religiosity manifests as yet a strong antipathy to every combination with the dogmatic, historical, or ecclesiastical, but in contrast with the recent past it is a pleasing appearance and may be taken to be a preliminary step towards a specifically Christian awakening. What the net benefit to the Church will be remains to be seen. It depends upon whether the Church will be able to rouse herself to new strength and draw into her path this general revival of interest in things religious. Meanwhile she manifests increased activity in her efforts to deepen faith and propagate the works of love.

We hope in later issues to amplify this hurried sketch of the signs of the times in Germany and to show the aims and standing of the different theological schools. From this very general characterization of the situation we pass to the notice of a few of the most important recent publications.

In the chief discipline of systematic theology there is no recent complete presentation of dogmatics to announce. The new edition of Kaftan manifests no noteworthy change of position. The largest measure of attention in this department is being devoted to a discussion of the principles and presuppositions of Christian theology. And in this discussion the representatives of positive theology have been unusually active. Indeed it is one of the marks of the day that the conservative theologians are so productive not only in polemics against the left, but more especially in positive constructive work on the right. And in the investigation of the prolegomena they have participated actively and have been prolific of achievements. It no longer suffices simply to assert that the objective Scriptures constitute the *principium cognoscendi* and with this as the leading and only prin-

ciple to develop the dogmatic system. The authority of Scripture must be examined and its relation to the subjective must be ascertained. In short the source or sources of the materials for dogmatics must be determined. And work at the sources often changes the course of the stream.

As the theologians inclining towards the subjectivism of Erlangen have gradually learned to give proper emphasis also to the objective facts of revelation, so those inclining towards the biblicism of a Beck are forced to recognize the subjective element as essential in establishing genuine evangelical faith in Scripture. As a type of this latter case, holding a position which promises to make possible a union of positive forces on this question, we may quote Schröder, *Schriftglaube und Heilsgewissheit*. Taking as his point of departure the consciousness of personal fellowship with the living God in faith, he makes his way to a judgment concerning Scripture. It is the undeniable historical element in our assurance of salvation, says he, which leads us to Scripture. Our faith as Christians leads us to faith in Scripture. And this it cannot fail to do. "Every theological treatment of Scripture which starts from faith grounded in the assurance of salvation *must* end with the idea of inspiration, with the confession of the inspiration of the Bible." As a type of the former class we have the brochure of Ihmels, *Das Verhältnis der Dogmatik zur Schriftwissenschaft*. He comes to the conclusion: "It is rather the Scripture in the strictest sense which in the name of revelation furnishes the material for dogmatics. And just in the same manner in which all new knowledge is in each instance made to harmonize with the central statement of faith, so here the matter of prime importance is that the impression be made secure, that faith *necessarily* clings to the witness of the Scriptures as it does, and fixes their content as it does." Meanwhile Ihmels' larger work, *Die Christliche Wahrheitsgewissheit*, has appeared in a second, a much enlarged edition. The thetical part has been revised but the theological position (*vide* LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, vol. xxxii. p. 281 sqq.) has not changed. The historical part has grown considerably by the addition of a long chapter on the religio-historical school. The criticism of Hermann has become sharper. The author's difference with Frank is more clearly defined than before. It amounts to this

that while Frank emphasizes rather the ethical effects produced by the objective factors in salvation and comprised under the head of regeneration, Ihmels lays greater stress upon the religious effects as they are comprehended in the idea of justifying faith.

Another effort to define the relation between the subjective and objective as sources for theological statement is to be found in two publications of R. Seeberg's. The one, an essay entitled *Der evangelische Glaube und die Tatsachen der Heilsgeschichte* (in his volume of essays, *zur dogmatischen Frage*, 1909), asserts a reciprocal dependence of faith upon the facts of history. "Our faith establishes for us the reality of the saving facts of history but at the same time our faith itself is grounded upon those facts." For faith is brought about through the personal influence upon the soul, but this takes place only through historical ideas, through the account of transpired events together with a judgment concerning them. The other, a booklet entitled *Offenbarung und Inspiration (Zeit und Streitfragen iv. 7 u. 8)*, investigates the essence and the genesis of historical revelation. He shows first "why not only theology but also the Church has given up the old idea of verbal inspiration." Revelation is defined as "the sum of all deeds and effects wrought by God which lead men to salvation and the knowledge of salvation." The Scriptures are defined as "the literary monument which informs us of these deeds and of this knowledge. They constitute a special effect of revelation. Revelation is thus a more inclusive term. But since the Scriptures as the literary deposit and permanent record of the history of revelation constitute an integral part of that history they are also indirectly themselves revelation." Inspiration is then defined as the "influence of the Holy Spirit to the understanding of the given facts of revelation." That is to say, inspiration is the process and influence which gives the content of revelation its correct and permanently dynamic form. Seeberg describes in conclusion the charism of inspiration by the analogy of the Bible charisms.

Prominent also among the publications along the lines of systematic theology are the treatises in apologetics. Especially marked is the effort of the Conservatives to come to an understanding among themselves so as to present a united front

against the Liberals, anti-churchism, irreligion and infidelity. Thus while those on the left contribute to the Problems of Life, those on the right issue their Problems of Eternity. While the more liberal Ritschlians and the advocates of the theology of historical religion publish the Popular Tracts of the History of Religion, the Conservatives parry with Biblical Questions of Present-day Controversy. And Bousset's *Theologische Rundschau* now finds its positive counterpart in Grützmacher's *Theologie der Gegenwart*. Positive construction is the strongest apologetic against negative criticism. And the Conservatives are coming to realize this and to change their apologetic tactics from the purely polemical to the firm building up of their own view-point, from negation to position. As proof of this change in tactics we may call attention to three recent works, *Probleme und Aufgaben der gegenwärtigen systematischen Theologie*, by Hunzinger, contains some excellent chapters on the absoluteness of Christianity, the philosophy of religion in the Church's theology, and the outlines for an apologetic. The proper relation between the Christian conception of the universe and the natural sciences is illumined. And quite deftly does Hunzinger epitomize the Christian conception of the universe in the sentence: "God as absolute spiritual personality is the absolute Reality; the world as the means for the accomplishment of God's purpose is dependent, passive and relative reality; redeemed man as progressive religious moral personality is the unfolding reality in God." Pastor Hilbert of the Lutherkirche in Leipzig, in theology a disciple of Kähler-Halle, has already published a second edition of his popular and successful lectures on apologetic subjects given in Leipzig. The general title of the book is *Christentum und Wissenschaft*. The Christian's belief in God is discussed in the light of modern cosmology, of modern biology, and of modern psychology. Then follow three chapters on the person of Jesus Christ, His work, and His resurrection. The evangelical position is conserved throughout. The apologetic testimony of experts especially from among the representatives of the natural sciences is adduced. This work has added stimulus to apologetic efforts and has given the signal for a popular presentation of apologetic subjects to wider circles.

A third book evincing scholarly productivity along apologetic

lines is from the prolific pen of that able and energetic representative of Seeberg's theology, Karl Beth of Vienna. His work, *Der Entwicklungsgedanke und das Christentum* may be taken as a comprehensive answer to the popular interrogation, "Evolution or Christianity?" It is an exhaustive and convincing effort to show the possibility of reconciling this fundamental characteristic of modern thought with the cardinal features of the Christian religion. The proposition defended is that the idea of evolution is not only perfectly reconcilable with the Christian faith, but that the Christian actually gains from viewing the world, humanity, the divine activity and human life from the standpoint of evolution. The aim is to disprove the frequent assertion of enmity between Christianity and evolution and to prove a certain amount of congenial affinity between them. The individual loci of theology are taken up and examined with a view to determining what effect the evolutionistic idea produces upon them. By way of introduction the author gives a careful definition of evolution and an historical sketch of the influence of the idea in theology. The anti-teleological, Darwinistic, mechanical conception of evolution is firmly rejected as worn out in natural science and utterly useless for theology. But concerning the teleological interpretation and application of the idea the conclusion is that "religion has good historical grounds for employing the idea in its service."

The Christian view of the world is found to be perfectly compatible with the application of evolutionism to inorganic nature and even to matter, for the conclusion is reached that the doctrine of the divine immanence as discovered to man through the authority of Jesus Christ excludes the conception of a world finished from the start, complete in itself, and dualistically opposed to God, and actually demands the conception of the world as constantly advancing towards a goal through the providence and continuous creation of God. The idea of evolution applied also to the world of living organisms harmonizes with the Christian view of the world. For it makes it possible to understand the entire enormous course of growth and development in the world of nature even to the growth of humanity itself as the process by means of which a rational and ethical creation was formed, the purpose being that this new and last creation might

henceforth mount to a new stage of development in spiritual being peculiar to itself. And as for the bearing of this upon the Christian view of the dignity of man, it is shown at some length that man is differentiated from the animal world by his spiritual life and therefore marks a leap in the evolutionary process. But teleological evolution reckons with the possibility of such leaps (mutation of species by halmatogenesis) and is therefore in no way contradictory to the Christian doctrine of the worth of man. All the rest of creation is preliminary to man. "The thought that the human race was evolved from a preceding stage in the world of nature, the thought that God's plan had so arranged the world that the human race should come into existence by the way of evolution, *i. e.*, the thorough-going idea of the descent of man, is the postulate of the Christian's conception and valuation of the world and of man."

The primitive state of man was not one of positive ethico-religious perfection but of capacity for the same. The origin of man as a rational being with spiritual capability for positive righteousness is the result of salient evolution. There was a first revelation, a special act of God. But the history of religion and of revelation itself shows that here also there has been a development. Sin is a recession, an abandonment of the line of evolution as set by God. Thus the doctrine of original sin receives new footing. Physical death is not as such the consequence of sin, rather is it the divinely established regulator of the stream of evolution making room for new beings and new powers which crowned with the laurels won by their predecessors shall press on to the achievement of still greater and more glorious victories. With Jesus Christ, whatever the preparation for His coming, there entered the world by virtue of the constant creative agency of God and through salient evolution a new creature at once supreme and complete. But this does not preclude an ontogenetic evolution in His person, a gradual growth into the full realization of His theanthropic calling. In like manner the same line of thought is applied to nearly every detail of the Christian system, though not always with the same degree of success.

This work of Beth's is stimulating and suggestive and while it can not be regarded as the final word on these subjects it will

not fail to beget large incentive to detailed investigation along these lines. It will not be without high significance for future apologetics.

Much attention has been given recently to the relation between the Christianity of Paul and that of Christ. The "Lives of Jesus" have ceased with Wrede's and the discussion has turned upon Paul. Who is the founder of Christianity as we have it to-day? This has been the question for some years. The question was made large and acute through the controversy precipitated by Harnack's *Wesen des Christentums*. (Incidentally be it remarked that Harnack's book [*vide* LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, vol. xxi, pp. 121sqg.; vol. xxvii, pp. 142 sqg. and 575 sqg.] has just appeared in a new edition with seven pages of notes bringing "a few corrections" and marking a number of peripheral concessions but insisting upon his old positions and "no essential reconstruction." The work has now been translated into twelve other languages and the number of sold copies must approach 100,000.) In his lectures last winter Harnack reasserted his dictum that "Not Christ himself, but the Father alone belongs in the Gospel as Jesus proclaimed it." The conclusion of course is that the Christology and Soteriology of the early Church and of modern orthodoxy is an iniquitous supersession of the pure Gospel of Jesus and the charge is made that Paul is the one who is responsible for this baneful replacement. Hence the questions as to the exact meaning of Paul and of Jesus and the difference between their theologies. Recent literature on the subject bulks large. Most worthy of mention are: *Feine*, Jesus Christ and Paul, 1902; *Wrede*, Paul, 1904; *Kaftan*, Jesus and Paul 1906; *Kölbing*, The Spiritual Influence of Jesus' Person on Paul, 1906; *Jülicher*, Paul and Jesus, 1907; *Arnold Meyer*, Who Founded Christianity, Jesus or Paul? 1907; *Wustmann*, Jesus and Paul, 1907; *Hauck*, Jesus and Paul, 1908; *Johannes Weiss*, Paul and Jesus, 1909; *Wustmann*, A Contradiction between Paul's Gospel and Jesus' Proclamation? 1909.

The most recent utterance on the subject is a series of articles in current numbers of the *Christliche Welt*. These articles are especially significant in their position on the subject in view of their source. They are from the pen of Dr. Hans Windisch,

a vigorous young private docent at Leipzig, presumably very liberal. He gives a brief review of present thought on the subject and maintains that the tendency at present is to bridge the chasm between Christ and Paul.

Summarizing the results of the debate he points out undeniable differences between the two, in the emphasis placed upon the saving facts, in the significance attached to the Person of Jesus, in their manner of dealing with men, in their grounds for opposition to the current Judaism, and in their eschatology. The difference is not so much a change of materials as a transition, a remodeling of the same structure. How is this reconstruction to be accounted for? Paul is not its author. It was essentially complete before Paul's conversion. It can be traced to the Church before Paul and is grounded in certain sayings of Jesus himself. The course of history brought about the transition, and that of necessity. The lapse of time and the course of events as well as the difference in temperament account for the seeming change. But in no case is Paul the founder of present-day Christianity. Not even the experiences of the primitive disciples first produced this religion. A mere glance at the person of the historical Jesus shows that in Him alone is given the decisive impulse to the formation of a new religious community. The self-consciousness of Jesus differs immensely from that of Paul. It is vastly superior to that of mere prophets and apostles. Scientific thinking demands for the explanation of the genesis and continuation of Christianity not merely the speculation of one or more theologians but the appearance and work of a personal Beginner.

And Paul's part in the development of this religion lies not in the fact that he was the first to have these experiences, nor yet the first to think out the primitive Christian theology, but the first to think *through* the new situation and the content of the new Gospel, developing it into a systematic series of correlative ideas. He founded systematic theology in that he wrought out the great antitheses, guilt and atonement, death and life, sin and grace, flesh and spirit. His keen theological insight and his rich personal experience are the two factors which, grounded upon his deeply pious life, fitted him to clothe Christ's Gospel in the garb of a theological system. In

this system the fundamental ideas of Jesus' Gospel recur though in very different order and orientation. The idea of the kingdom of God is found in Paul. He is filled with the same zeal for the forgiveness of sins that Jesus was. The highest ethical values are identical in both cases, pureness of heart, forgiveness of sins, the will to do good, strictness of morals, and self-denial. Above all, the atoning significance of Jesus' death is common to both. For it can no longer be denied that Jesus himself gave expression, belated but actual, to this thought which afterwards became so fundamental to Paul. In short, Jesus through word and deed is the founder of Christianity; the transition to systematic form was begun by the primitive disciples and completed by Paul.

The significance of this utterance on the part of Windisch is not small. It denotes a decided shift towards the right. Perhaps the course of time will bring about the complete rehabilitation of Paul. This is what the Positives have been contending for. In a word, Christ in His messianic vocation not only claims royal dominion but also manifests the consciousness of a close inner fellowship with God transcending the bounds of mere derived religion. He claims to be a ransom (λύτρον). He forgives sin, He calls Himself the salvation of the weary and heavy-laden, the judge of the living and the dead. If this be the content of His messianic consciousness—oneness with God—it really includes the demand that men should believe *in* Him and not merely *with* Him. Jesus is the object of His Gospel and not merely its revealing subject. And Paul's formula: Jesus is the Lord (κύριος) and his predicate "God" (θεός) is in perfect accord with the teaching of Jesus Himself and with the confession of the primitive Church: I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord.

This is the view to which even liberal thought seems to be hurrying: the messianic consciousness of Jesus produced in a straight line leads to the worshipping of Jesus. Between the Gospel proclaimed by Jesus and the system developed in Paul, there is a distinction but not a difference. For the root of Paul's theology is found in Christ's own teaching. Now blossoms and fruit are a matter of evolutionary unfolding, but they are one in essence with the root. The essence of Christianity is

the same in Paul as it is in Jesus. Paul's interpretation and formulation marks but a necessary step in the transmission and conservation of the essence.

These few notices will perhaps indicate the lines of thought occupying the attention of systematic and New Testament theologians. Noteworthy appearances in systematic theology from the liberal camp, as well as works in Old Testament, historical theology, and practical theology, must be reserved for later reports.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE XI.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

THE BOARD OF PUBLICATION OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN
AMERICA. 25 E. 22ND ST., NEW YORK.

The Sociology of the Bible. By Ferdinand S. Schenck, D.D.,
L.L.D., Professor of Practical Theology in the Theological
Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, at New Bruns-
wick, N. J. Pp. 428. Price \$1.50 net.

When we remember that Sociology is one of the newest of the sciences, it is remarkable how deep a hold it has taken on the popular mind, and how large a place it has claimed for itself in education and literature.

In the first chapter of this book, the author says, "Theology was old, Astronomy was gray when Sociology was born. In 1883 there was not a chair of Sociology in any University or College in the world. In 1883 the first book on Dynamic Sociology was published. Many men now living are older than the science of Sociology."

Our own Dr. Stuckenberg was one of the pioneers in this subject, especially as studied from the Christian standpoint. His book on "Christian Sociology" was published in 1880, and was without doubt the first of its kind. In the introduction of this volume he bears this testimony, "The author has frequently and deeply felt the need of a science giving an explanation of the nature, the relation, and the duties of Christian Society. Books on this subject are greatly needed by the theologian, the preacher and the intelligent Christian layman. But a searching investigation into theological literature, and inquiry among men familiar with this literature, have convinced him that no such book exists. * * In all his search, the author has never found the term "Christian Sociology" and it has, probably, never before been used in theology."

This was written only thirty years ago, or less. Now there are scores of books, yes, literally hundreds of them, dealing with the general subject of Sociology, and many of them have a distinctly Christian flavor, or treat the subject from a definitely Christian standpoint, and there is not a university or college, and hardly a theological seminary, of any standing, which does not recognize this subject in its course of study.

Among the many books on the general subject of Christian

Sociology, the author of this volume claims for it the distinction that, so far as his knowledge goes, "This is the first book on Biblical Sociology. Books on Christian Sociology are generally confined to the teachings of Christ, or to a description of the Christian Society of to-day. In this book I try to gather the most important facts and principles of the society of the whole Bible from Genesis to Revelation, to classify them in a sociological way, and to consider what light they throw upon some of the social problems of to-day."

We are further informed, in the preface, that the book is based on lectures delivered by the author to the students of the seminary in which he is a professor. He says, "The lectures on Sociology I have been giving the students of our Theological Seminary for the past six years have been designed to make them leaders of the Church in a conscious and intelligent effort to better society. I have tried to show them how the knowledge of the laws of God as we discover them both in the social life of mankind generally, and especially in the social life described in the Bible, may be applied in establishing the Kingdom of God, the highest ideal of society in each community, and in the whole earth. This book contains the substance of these lectures wrought into the form of popular reading."

In this effort to popularize the treatment, it has not ceased to be scholarly and thorough, neither is the book one for easy reading. It will require, as it well deserves and will rightly repay, the most careful reading and study.

The discussion is divided into four parts:

Part I deals with "Related Subjects," such as Socialism, Evolution, The Higher Criticism, &c.

Part II discusses "The General Society of the Bible," its Origin, its Primitive Character, its Primary Classes, and the Dispersion of the Race.

Part III, which is the longest, has for its general subject, "The Kingdom of God, or the Particular Society of the Bible." Some of the special chapter headings in this part are, The Modern Sociological Point of View, Heredity, The Institution of the Family, Environment, The Land Laws of the Hebrews, The Accumulation and the Distribution of Wealth, Social Pathology, The Ideal of Social Health, &c.

Part IV, on "The Kingdom of God in the World," is perhaps the most important of all. It has five chapters on the following subjects, Chapter 21 on "Christianity in the Advance of Civilization from Ancient Rome;" Chapter 22 on "Christianity in Advance of Civilization from our own Barbarian Ancestors;" Chapter 23 on "Christianity a Social Force in Foreign Missions;" Chapter 24 on "The Further Advance of Christian Civi-

lization;" Chapter 25 on "The Christian, the Church and the Universal Kingdom of God."

A specially full index adds much to the value of the volume for collateral reading. It is unfortunate that so excellent a book should have suffered so much from careless proof-reading. Many of the mistakes are only typographical and are easily corrected, but in some cases there has evidently been a substitution of the wrong word entirely. One of the most glaring cases of this is found on page 21 where Matthew Arnold's well known definition of religion is quoted as "Religion is morality touched with evolution."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS. CHICAGO.

Social Duties from the Christian Point of View. A Text-book for the Study of Social Problems. By Charles Richmond Henderson. Pp. 332.

This volume belongs to the "Advanced and Supplementary Series" of "Constructive Biblical Studies," being published by the University of Chicago Press. This series is intended for the use of Bible Classes, or Teachers' Training Classes, or any other classes of earnest men and women engaged in the serious study of religious and social questions. It includes such subjects as "The Life of Christ," "The Priestly Element in the Old Testament," "Christianity and its Bible," "Great Men of the Christian Church," &c.

Professor Henderson, the author of this volume on "Social Duties from the Christian Point of View," has already achieved distinction as a student of and writer on social questions, having published some half dozen volumes dealing with their various phases.

The book is intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. It is meant to be a guide to teachers and students rather than a book simply for reading. It is really much of the character of a very full "syllabus" such as a teacher might put into the hands of his students in the university or theological seminary.

There are sixteen chapters dealing with such topics as "Social Duties Relating to the Family," "Social Duties Relating to Neglected Children," "Social Duty to Workingmen," "Social Duties in Rural Communities," five chapters on various phases of "Urban Life," &c., &c.

The following extract from the preface is fairly well descriptive of the treatment given these and the other topics, "The treatment found in this text-book is brief, even fragmentary; it is only a push and a hint. Perhaps it is all the better that the

paragraphs contain so little matter; their chief purpose is to start independent thinking. It is not predigested mental food, offering a false hope of easy and cheap mastery of vast and vital problems; it is a call to intellectual labor; it is a summons to patriotic and religious toil."

As a help to this kind of serious study, and making a most valuable part of the book, the author appends to each chapter, and often even to the paragraphs on special subjects, quite full "References to Literature" for collateral reading, and also lists of "Topics for Study and Discussion."

No class of earnest minded men and women could possibly do the work called for in this book without becoming deeply interested, nor without great profit both to themselves and to the community in which they live.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

FLEMING H. REVELL CO. NEW YORK.

The Starry Universe the Christian's Future Empire. By Horace C. Stanton, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D. Cloth...Pp. 25, 362...Price \$1.50 net.

There is much in this enthusiastically written book that is true and beautiful, more that is merely fanciful and speculative. No Christian will dispute the beauty of heaven, the degrees of glory, recognition and the immortality of love. But when the flight of the glorified through the universe from earth to moon, and planet and star is dogmatically asserted, we confess that neither our imagination nor our judgment is quite equal to the author's flight. The basis of the argument lies in man's love for beauty, his thirst for knowledge, and his desire to know God's creation that we may know him better. The possibility of the flight is argued from the nature of the resurrection body, which like that of Christ, is immensely superior to the earthly body, unaffected by adverse circumstances and endowed with vast possibilities. These facts, added to an extremely literal interpretation of Bible passages, convince the author, if not the reader, of the truth of his theory.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY. PHILADELPHIA.

That Man Donaleitis. A Story of the Coal Regions. By Margaret R. Seebach, The John Rung Prize Series. Cloth. Pp. 451. Price \$1.25.

This is a story of more than ordinary merit. Donaleitis is a noble character, who overcomes the hindrances of ignorance, of a foreign tongue, of poverty and of Romish superstitions. Of

course, he is also a true lover and fond father. The scenes of a coal mining town are depicted in their true colors. The horrors of a long strike are described, and the causes which led to it faithfully set forth. Social, educational, ethical and religious problems are incidentally discussed without preaching. A vein of humor enlivens the volume. Those who know Mrs. Seebach's writings need not be told that the work possesses high literary merit. We heartily commend Donaleitis to all our readers. The boys and the girls will be as much interested in it as their more thoughtful parents.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Anniversary Addresses, 1869-1909. Addresses Delivered at the Fortieth Anniversary of the Board of Home Missions, Foreign Missions, and Church Extension of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, at Harrisburg, Pa., April 27-28, 1909. Cloth. Pp. 385. Price \$1.00.

The *Anniversary Addresses*, twenty-eight in number, on the various phases of the work of the Boards of Home Missions, of Foreign Missions, and of Church Extension, though necessarily brief, are of a high order of merit both as to matter and style. They are packed with a vast array of facts, which the pastor and the people ought to know and which are here made accessible. They sparkle with enthusiasm. The broadcast circulation of this volume would increase the knowledge of our people, deepen their interest in the evangelization of the world, and multiply their offerings for the extension of the Kingdom.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

LUTHERAN PUBLISHING HOUSE. DECORAH, IOWA.

Our Homes and Our Children. Lectures by O. Klynken. Translated from the Norwegian by Peer Stromme. Pp. 232. Price 75 cents.

From the Preface we learn that "these lectures were delivered in 1904, before the teachers and students of the school 'Fredly' in Strinden, Norway, a school belonging to the Trondhjem circuit of the Home Mission Society."

There are ten lectures, four on "Our Homes," and six on "Our Children." They are written in a clear, simple and direct style, and are full of homely common sense and good advice.

The titles of a few of the lectures indicate the scope of the discussion, "How do We Secure a Happy Home?" "Family Sorrows;" "How do We Train Our Children in Obedience?" "How do We Train Our Children in Moral Purity?"

No one can read this little book without profit, but it will be especially helpful to young people, and to parents and teachers.

J. A. CLUTZ

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE. ST. LOUIS, MO.

Unterscheidungslehren der hauptsächlichen sich Lutherisch nennenden Synoden, so wie der nämhaftesten Sektenkirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, von J. J. Grosse, ev. luth. Pastor in Addison, Ill. Viente Auflag. Cloth. Pp. v., 176. Price 40 cents.

This little volume, which treats of the *Distinctive Doctrines* held by the principal Lutheran Synods, and also of those held by *sects*, is now in its fourth edition. This indicates that it is being industriously circulated among German people. The conclusion of the book is that the Missouri Synod alone possesses the true faith! All other Synods are thoroughly steeped in error! The General Synod, for instance, is not truly Lutheran either in doctrine or practice. For proof of this he quotes from Dr. Seiss' *Javelin* published forty years ago, from the report of a committee made in 1845, and from various other ancient transactions. He misunderstands or wilfully perverts the subscription of the General Synod to the Augsburg Confession. Should the present edition ever unfortunately be exhausted, we would counsel Pastor Grosse to consult the minutes of the General Synod of the year 1909, before he issues a fifth edition.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

EATON & MAINS. NEW YORK.

An Epoch in the Scriptural Life. By Charles Newman Curtis. Cloth. Pp. viii., 328. Price \$1.25.

This volume essays a restatement of Wesley's doctrine of "entire sanctification" or "Christian perfection." This is deemed desirable because of a misunderstanding of these matters, and also because of the advancement in knowledge and its methods since Wesley's day.

The founder of Methodism has sometimes been misinterpreted by his followers and his foes. His idea of "perfection" is not that one may attain an absolutely sinless state or that he may become infallible any more than omniscient, but that he may attain a state in which he is no longer conscious of sinning.

Our author argues that it is entirely rational, biblical and within the reach of every Christian to attain "full salvation." By this he means "a heart full of love, that will stay full." (p. 206). "With the supreme choice right, the divine love filling the whole

soul to its conscious limits and the permanence of this state mark largely the entireness of sanctification." "The fully saved man feels only love to all; he is 'established,' made complete in Christ, abiding in him without interruption daily."

The evidence of being in a state of "full salvation" is largely a matter of consciousness. Self-examination will reveal to a man his attitude on moral questions. If the result be that he find himself free from all sorts of evil thoughts and dispositions and full of love toward God and man, he is entitled to believe that he is now in that happy state of "full salvation," "God has done the work, and done it instantaneously" (p. 213).

The foregoing quotations show the gist of the book. While we believe that sanctification is necessarily progressive rather than instantaneous, we have no doubt that the effort of a sanctified will may so greatly accelerate the process that the earnest Christian may realize that he has been enabled at a specific time to overcome this or that unholy tendency. The reading of the book will be stimulating if not altogether convincing.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Socialized Church. Edited by Worth M. Tippy, D.D., Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. Pp. 288. Price \$1.00 net.

This rich and suggestive volume is made up of eleven papers read before the "First National Conference of the Social Workers of Methodism," held in St. Louis in 1908. Many of the writers are experts in the subjects discussed and are therefore qualified to speak with authority. All of them are men and women of recognized ability whose papers deserve careful and thoughtful reading.

The range of subjects discussed is wide including such topics as, "The Church and the Social Need;" "The Church and Organized Charity;" "What Workingmen Might Reasonably Expect from the Church;" "The Deaconess as the Pastor's Social Assistant;" "The Pulpit as a Social Force;" "The Socialized Church," &c., &c.

We commend this book to the reading of all who are interested in the relation of the Church to the social questions of the day, and even more to those who are not interested but ought to be. It would be specially helpful to our younger ministers.

J. A. CLUTZ.

Prophecy and the Prophets in Their Historical Relations. By Frederick Carl Eiselen, Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. Cloth. Pp. 331. Price \$1.50 net.

This book is intended to be an aid toward a better apprecia-

tion of the prophetic books and the prophetic teaching. It is not intended to displace the study of the biblical books themselves, but rather to stimulate such study by furnishing an introduction to these books. It gives an historical background which is not always apparent to the average student. Thus each of the prophets is made to stand out in his proper environment. His message, therefore, becomes more vivid and comprehensible.

The author has done his work well. The style is simple and didactic. While this book is intended primarily for adult Bible classes in Sunday Schools or young people's organizations, it is really well adapted for use in advanced schools, and even by ministers.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Earliest Cosmologies. By Fairfield Warren, S. T. D., LL.D., Cloth. Price \$1.50 net.

Dr. Warren has undertaken the outline of a most difficult course for the student of cosmology. He himself is an enthusiast in this region of thought. He has the courage of his convictions. He believes that his data for his theories are sufficient, that there is a common "world-view" concept. The present work is an attempt to gather up his study on the subject of comparative cosmology. He believes the Babylonian cosmological system will interpret all others.

The explanations of the various concepts of the world as set forth by such savants as Whitehouse and Schiaparelli, whose ideas are generally followed as to the Hebrew world-concept, has led to a rejection of their views. In short the whole conception of a disc-like universe he holds impossible and contends strenuously for a sphere-like conception. He contends that this world's cosmological norm-view is fully justified by Babylonian research, and he fearlessly attacks Maspero's views in which the whole universe is imagined to be a large box "nearly rectangular, whose greatest diameter was from south to north, and its least from east to west." He contends that the task of combining many divergent views is very simple and to him the diagram of "a two seven-staged pyramids" explains all. His attempt is to show how Biblical, Rabbinical, Homeric, Puranic, Egyptian and Indo-Iranian concepts of the universe are explainable by reference to a correct comprehension of the Babylonian. His conclusion arrived at after carrying the reader through nine chapters with masterly genius, is "that we have seen no little evidence that in countries widely separated the earliest traceable teachers held and taught what was essentially one and the same world-concept. His tenth chapter is taken up with unsolved problems for future students and concludes with an earnest plea for the "real

cradle land of the whole human race," as lying "within the Arctic circle"—a region equidistant from India, Babylonia and Egypt. The concept involved in the Zodiac which he regards "the most precious, if not the oldest scientific heirlooms of the human race," he thinks gets its explanation from, and explains, the axle-pillar idea, as can be done in no other way, by locating the cradle of the race and its early years within the Arctic Circle, where unrivalled opportunities are afforded for studying astronomical questions.

In regard to the book and its teaching it may be said that while one is constrained to admire the acumen of the writer and the fertility of his imagination, one is disposed to ask himself "cui bono?" He may explode the "disc" theory of the universe attributed to the ancients and make out a good case for the view that they one and all held and taught, that their conception of the earth was spheroidal, and yet how can much that he posits be verified? He himself admits the great difficulty of the field of investigation. Writing of the mythology on which he must depend, he says, "the interpretation of myths is . . . about the most difficult and baffling of all the duties." It is, however, marvellous how he has ransacked Sanscrit authority to illumine his pages and to show how early Sanscrit and Iranian writers in many ways helped him to his conclusions. He is generally correct in his relative age estimates, but on page 99 he attempts to use Puranic teaching to substantiate Buddhistic world-view. The Puranas did not precede, but followed Buddhistic conception and were intended to displace them in Hinduism. One cannot but feel that Dr. Warren is in the last analysis trying to support his views of the cradle of the human race. Fascinating though the subject is, it is too removed from the sphere of "practical politics" to claim the serious attention of the student-world.

L. B. WOLF.

THE MACMILLAN CO. NEW YORK.

The Bible for Home and School: Genesis. By Hinckley G. Mitchell, Ph.D., D.D. Cloth. Pp. 319. 5 x 6 1-2. Price 90 cents net.

The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians. By Benjamin W. Bacon, D.D., LL.D., Professor in Yale University. Cloth. Pp. 135. Price 50 cents net.

Dr. Mitchell fully accepts the theory that Genesis is a compilation made by various redactors from three sources—the Judean or Jehvistic document, the Ephraimcite or Elohistie, and the

Priestly. The first of these is supposed to have been written not earlier than 878 B. C., and the last not earlier than 586 B. C. This, of course, entirely eliminates the authorship of Moses. This theory imputes great skill to the various redactors in joining narratives so cunningly as to deceive the vast majority of Bible readers. It also credits the critics with even greater skill in resolving the narrative into its original constituents.

The general attitude and style of the author may be seen from a few quotations. "This is the first account of creation. It is not, as has sometimes been claimed, a poem, but a sober attempt to explain the origin of the visible world, and, when one considers its antiquity, a very successful one. There is no other so early that can be compared with it. Indeed, it teaches the unity of nature and a gradual development of the world as clearly as modern science. The ideas of God and man, also which it suggests are lofty and inspiring, and calculated to stimulate piety and morality. It must, however, have become plain to any one who has followed the preceding discussion that this ancient cosmogony can not be regarded as a history of the process by which the world was created. For such knowledge, so far as it has ever been revealed, one must consult the records of modern science" (Page 38).

The work is scholarly and devout and will be helpful to the student possessed of discrimination.

Dr. Bacon in his Commentary on Galatians shows his critical skill and exegetical knowledge. We cannot agree with him in his representation of Luke in his record of Paul in Acts. Dr. Bacon would make it appear that Luke has misunderstood, if not misrepresented, Paul, and that Galatians and Acts do not agree as to Paul's attitude on Judaism. We fail to be convinced, and have no difficulty in reconciling Luke's straightforward narrative with Paul's revelation of himself in his epistles. Nor can we accept the theory of the atonement as taught by Dr. Bacon, who declares that "Paul seems to take special pains to avoid both the phraseology and the implications of the substitutionary theory, conceiving the suffering of Jesus in a more moral sense." "Paul always avoids the cruder form of the doctrine which may be called the substitutionary." In this form Jesus is said to have died 'in our stead' (*anti*) as against the Pauline 'for us' (*peri*) or 'for our advantage' (*hyper*)." Pp. 48, 49.

But it is true, as Thayer says, that *anti* and *hyper* are used interchangeably, e. g., by Irenaeus, and thus his death "in our stead" is "for our advantage." No theory of the atonement has any substantial ground in the Pauline epistles which fails to recognize that somehow Jesus took our place in reconciling the

Father to us. We must not forget that Jesus was made to be sin for us (2 Cor. 5:21). He took our place and bore the penalty and the burden of our sin for us. He had identified himself with humanity, but not with its guilt. Being personally without sin and guilt, he could make atonement for others.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Temple. By Lyman Abbott. Cloth. Illuminated cover. Pp. 171. Price \$1.25 net.

The Temple is not that of Solomon at Jerusalem, but the human body, which as the Scriptures declare, is the sanctuary of the Holy Spirit. The object of *The Temple* is not to expound the philosophies of either the psychologist or the physiologist. It is to describe human experience: as it is and as it ought to be; to interpret the laws both of the body and of the spirit. It is to describe human nature."

This is a beautiful book in every way,—in binding, printing and in contents. It is a series of practical addresses on man as he is or ought to be. It deals with the senses, appetites, and nobler powers of the soul. There are eleven chapters, each suggestive of good things. Young preachers will find material and inspiration here for Sunday evening sermons of a popular character.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

A Certain Rich Man. By William Allen White, Author of "Stratagems and Spoils," etc. Cloth. Pp. 434. Price \$1.50.

This is a powerful story, in which historic interest, keen analysis of character, exposure of sordidness and the holding up of high ideals, blend. The author has woven his material so skillfully that one feels that he is reading more than fiction. So important does Dr. Washington Gladden consider Mr. White's novel that he recently made it the theme of a sermon. John Barclay, the chief character of the story, is the son of a widow whose husband, a minister, was slain as a martyr to the cause of abolition. The widow is a noble soul, who brings up her son at great sacrifice. He, however, fails to catch his mother's spirit. He is enterprising, grows rich through unscrupulous schemes, in which he spares not the happiness, honor or life of friend or foe. He barely escapes jail, is finally brought by his mother to recognize the unrighteousness and enormity of his deeds, repents, makes restitution and in a measure regains the happiness which he had forfeited.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Laws of Friendship, Human and Divine. By Henry Churchill King, President of Oberlin College. Pp. 159. Price \$1.25 net.

This volume is the resultant of a course of thoughtful lectures delivered before a Haverford College audience. The theme, the audience and the speaker so happily united, that the message is one that rings and will be remembered.

Friendship is, indeed, a sacred theme. Haverford is the name of a celebrated Friends' college. The author is an accomplished and analytic writer, discussing his subject with rare and remarkable ability. He reminds us that the greatest questions are never new. Friendship is treated in this splendid volume as no subordinate or side issue—but as he declares in the preface, "the problem of the whole life." The problem of friendship is the problem of life itself.

No discriminating reader can fail to acknowledge the refreshing and stimulating power of a thinker and teacher whose delineation is as charming as his discovery is profound. The world needs to be enlightened with such a message. Too true is the assertion that genuine and sincere friendship can point to but few examples. The divine conception is needed to determine and emphasize the friendship that can endure adversity. This our author has not hidden from view.

While the volume is brief, no essential element has been overlooked. It stands forth in attractive presentation, winning close attention and enriching the reader as he follows the gifted pen's portrayal. Following an illuminating introduction the book is arranged in two parts: Establishing the Friendship and Deepening the Friendship. How fair the illustrations of such friendship as David and Jonathan, Luther and Melancthon! These only give force to the author's choice sentence: "Human friendship can least of all spare the hopes of religion. The human cries out irresistibly for the support of the divine." Many gems shine and sparkle throughout the pages of the book. Their light and riches need a more general welcome in our busy world.

CHAS. REINEWALD.

THE GERMAN LITERARY BOARD. BURLINGTON, IOWA.

Der Zionsbote, Christlicher Volkskalender auf das Jahr unseres Heilandes, 1910.

Our enterprising German Literary Board has issued its handsome and useful Almanac for the thirteenth year. It contains the usual information pertaining to the calendar besides much that is interesting and edifying.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. NEW YORK.

The Christian Doctrine of God. By William N. Clarke, D.D.
Crown 8vo. Pp. 477. Price \$2.50 net.

This volume belongs to the International Theological Library Series. From many quarters the cry has been heard that a re-statement of theology is absolutely necessary to meet the changes of modern thought. Such a theology, it has been claimed, must be independent of the historical creeds. As this volume is written from the standpoint of those who make such a demand, it must be of interest to every student of theology whether the author's conclusions be accepted or not.

One is impressed, in reading the book, with the fact that this theology makes no claim of anything like finality in its conclusions. The very definition that is given of the Christian Doctrine of God as "the conception of God which Christian faith and thought propose *for the present time*, in view of the Bible, and of the history, and of all sound knowledge and experience, interpreted in the light of Jesus Christ the Revealer," shows that the author expects this theology to be superseded by a theology of the future. He does not condemn the theology of the Nicene Fathers nor of the dogmaticians, but regards their systems as the theology needed for their times but not suited to ours. One can not but contrast this with the ring of certainty that we find in Paul's theology in the Epistle to the Romans, for instance. After all these ages, can theology lay no claim to eternal verities?

The doctrine of God as here presented, departs from the traditional theology in practically denying that the Bible is decisive in matters of faith. The Old Testament differs only in degree from the sacred books of other countries. A chapter is devoted to the Trinity, and yet the standpoint of the book is that of Unitarianism. All men are capable of receiving God; Christ only received Him in His fulness. Therefore he is the Revealer of the Father. God's presence in man—this is the Holy Spirit. God, God in Christ, God in men—this is Father, Son and Spirit—the Trinity as it is here presented. One can not help but wonder why the old terminology is not discarded along with the old doctrine. No special creation of man is admitted. He is merely the product of an evolutionary process. In justice to the author let it be stated, however, that no one could insist more strongly on the fact that an immanent God touches and directs the process at every point. Again and again is sin admitted, but it is part of the upward process, the impulses of the former lower stage struggling with the higher spirit in man.

With sin God is in conflict, but no atonement is needed. With the sinner God is in conflict only till he turns.

These departures from the traditional theology are vital. Yet the author defends certain truths peculiar to Christian doctrine which differentiate his doctrine *in toto* from the teachings of other cults. That man is made in the image of God is so fundamental an assumption that it gives to this system of doctrine an anthropomorphic coloring in the presence of which the anthropomorphisms of even the early Old Testament are dim. Emphasis is laid on the moral attributes of God—goodness, love, holiness and wisdom—and not on the metaphysical ones. One can not but contrast this with the theology of philosophers which has dwelt altogether on the latter. Moral attributes must belong to personality and the defense of the personality of God impresses us as the strongest part of the book. The untenableness of both agnosticism and pantheism could not be more strongly maintained. Running through the entire discussion is the assumption that our purest instincts and best knowledge do not deceive us but lead us to reality. One who has lived in the atmosphere of Hinduism with its doctrine of illusion which envelops the mind of everyone and leads us to assume as real what is false can not help but feel that this trust in God's truth and faithfulness, which this assumption implies, has a Christian source. The old arguments for the existence of the great and good God—and the author concludes instead of beginning his book with the evidences—are thought to have had their day. In discarding these and finding in the rational and the spiritual sure ground for such belief, the argument for theism is, we believe, strengthened rather than weakened. Belief in God is the concluding chapter of the book. This is belief in the goodness of God, "the normal assumption of rational minds that existence has been fairly and honestly given us as a blessing and not as a curse." This seems but a feeble definition of Christian belief but it is all that the doctrine of God herein presented warrants us in holding.

The author does not discuss the way of salvation. That was beyond the scope of his book. In spite of many excellent things in it, in spite even of the high regard for Christ as the Revealer of God, we can not but prefer St. Paul's doctrine of God, with its enthronement of Christ over all and its sure ground of salvation in Him. The old theology makes no more assumptions than the new. It does, what the new theology fails to do, deal fairly and honestly with the great facts concerning Christ. As a setting forth, however, of what the new theology is, and as a defense even if much that is vital to Christian theism, the volume under review deserves careful study.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

APRIL, 1910.

ARTICLE I.

"THE CONFESSIONAL HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH."*

BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

Dr. Richard's *Confessional History* deserves more than passing notice in the pages of the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, one of whose editors and principal contributors he was for many years. A pathetic interest is attached to this volume from the fact that its author died while it was passing through the press.

The *Confessional History* occupies a unique place in our theological literature, being the only volume on the subject in the English language, though Krauth's *Conservative Reformation* very ably covers part of the ground, and Stuckenberg's *History of the Augsburg Confession* was a fit precursor in its treatment of the Augustana.

The theme is by no means of a popular character, and hence the volume will appeal only to the more thoughtful, who are interested in the rise and progress of doctrine. The formulation of creeds amid the conflicts of opposing parties is a phase of the development of the inner life of the Church which mirrors its true character. These creeds are the concrete expression of the consciousness of the Church as she slowly sifts truth from error.

**The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church...* By James W. Richard, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. Lutheran Publication Society, Phila., Pa. Cloth, 8 mo. Pp. viii, 637. Price \$3.00.

Having their roots in the sacred Scriptures, they attain their fixed form only through the experience of the Church. Indeed, the fundamentals of our faith are like the multitude of the saints,—they have come up through great tribulations.

The *Confessional History* tells the story of the events, as Dr. Richard apprehended them, which produced the Lutheran symbols. Whether he has fully discovered, systematically arranged, and faithfully interpreted all the facts bearing on the case can not be decided at a glance, but must be left to those who shall go carefully over the ground which the author has traversed.

The volume bears evidence, in the hundreds of citations and in the multitude of dates which dot its pages, of great industry in investigation. The principal portions of the book are the result of 20 years of research in a field that requires unwearied application and versatility; for historical criticism demands not only a very wide acquaintance with the material bearing on a subject, but also unusual skill in its interpretation and arrangement. Dr. Richard had his matter well in hand, as is attested by the orderly, easy and forcible presentation of it. The literary setting of the work is of a high order. The diction is chaste and dignified, well suited to the subject. There is no ambiguity of expression.

To what degree Dr. Richard's well known convictions of what ought to be may have tinged his presentation of facts will probably be measured by the reader's own attitude toward the author's positions. There can be no doubt, however, as to the seriousness of purpose to present facts as he saw them. It has already been charged that he has exaggerated some facts and suppressed others. That there was any wilfulness to do so is quite incredible. The relative prominence of facts depends largely upon the point of view.

While the *Confessional History* will appear to many a merely academic performance without any relation to present day problems, the interest which it has aroused indicates that it has to do with matters which the Lutheran Church considers vital. In the last analysis, it seems to us, the author has in mind the confessional authority and value of the so-called Symbolical Books embraced in the Book of Concord. Which of these and to what degree are they to be considered binding upon a Lutheran?

The focus of the decision is the Augsburg Confession and the Form of Concord. Other matters will be considered subsidiary though not unimportant. The work will be judged largely by its attitude toward these two symbols.

"The historian does not have for his chief mission the deduction of conclusions, but the exhibition of facts," as Dr. Richard remarks (p. 152). Nevertheless, a polemic, like our author, is inevitably impelled to draw conclusions in accordance with his general convictions. Yet the right to draw conclusions belongs to every one who knows the facts and understands logic. The historical problems underlying the historic symbols bear about the same relation to their content as the findings of higher criticisms do to the content of Scripture. The critics may come and they may go; a document stands or falls according to the measure of its intrinsic value. The symbols of the Church must commend themselves to our present judgment if they are to be considered as normative in matters of faith. Their historic value need not be underestimated, but the real question is their conformity with truth as we now apprehend it.

No reader of Church History can fail to be impressed, as well as depressed, by the intensely human and partisan factors which appear in the settlement of great, crucial questions. Of course, these very questions arise through the clash of opinions. The subterfuges, suppressions and compromises, which often characterize certain actors in the conflicts incident to doctrinal construction, may be magnified by the historian out of all proportion to their weight, while the more potent and less tangible influences of providence and prayer are too often treated as negligible quantities. If the Reformation be measured by the severity of Luther, the timidity of Melancthon and the morality of some of the princes, we would fail of a proper conception of that mighty movement, whose chief factor was an over-ruling Providence.

The foregoing observations are made in view of the exceeding delicacy of setting forth in an objective way the exact historic background of Lutheran doctrine.

To come now to the book itself, we notice that two-fifths of its pages are given to the Augsburg Confession, the oldest and the most generic of all Protestant symbols. The author discusses

its composition, its delivery, its characteristics, its contents, its attempted confutation, and its several editions. The interest centers in its authorship which has often been claimed for Luther, without indeed any historic testimony, chiefly upon presumptive grounds. The Melanchthonian authorship of the Augustana has been completely vindicated by Dr. Richard. He shows quite conclusively that Melanchthon was not a mere amenuensis of Luther, as was formerly asserted, but that he arranged the material and set it forth in proper language. Of course, Luther may be credited with the revival of evangelical doctrine, and in this sense his teachings are reproduced.

“From May 2nd to June 25th [when the Confession was read before the Diet] Luther’s influence at Augsburg was small indeed. Within that period he was not the inspirer and director of the movements at Augsburg. For three full weeks or more, he was left in total ignorance of what was going on there. For more than four weeks he was not informed in regard to the daily changes that were made in the ‘Apology’ [as the Confession was called].” (Page 197).

Unless other discoveries reveal facts in contradiction of the above, it seems fair to conclude that Luther had directly nothing to do with the final form of the Confession. Melanchthon’s subsequent liberties with the Confession indicate that he evidently regarded it as peculiarly his own.

Luther’s attitude toward the Confession depended somewhat on his mood. Now he commends it; and now he finds fault with it. But Dr. Richard, it seems to us, is mistaken when he interprets Luther’s designation of the Confession, *Leisetreterinn*, as an epithet. The literal meaning of the word is *gentle stepper*. The derived and modern use of the word as defined by the lexicons, is *sneak*. Luther wrote to the Elector John, “It pleases me very well and I could not change or improve it; nor would it be becoming to do so, since I can not tread so softly and gently.” Denn ich so sanft und leise nicht treten kann. (See Schaff’s History of the Christian Church, VI. 709 f). Dr. Schaff was a German and knew how to translate. The connection demands the original and not the derived meaning.

In reference to the text of the Augsburg Confession, Dr. Richard clearly shows that there is not now extant an absolutely

pure and unchanged text as it was originally delivered to the Diet. The so-called *Editio Princeps*, in Latin and German, was prepared by Melanchthon from "a copy of good credit" in the year 1530. This is the edition that has received the stamp of authority by all Lutheran Churches, and is now known as the "Unaltered Augsburg Confession," though the title is not absolutely correct. Quite a number of editions were prepared by Melanchthon and were apparently not objected to at the time, for it was thought that the changes were merely verbal. The principal *Variata* is that of 1540, in which the language of the tenth article is somewhat different from that of the *Editio Princeps*. Dr. Richards maintains that Melanchthon had no thought of promulgating a new doctrine of the Lord's Supper, or that he meant to favor or to allure the Sacramentarians. On the contrary the change is justified by Dr. Richard on the ground that it saved the article from a Romish interpretation. Be that as it may, the *Variata* introduced a change in an article that differentiated Lutherans from errorists and consequently the *Variata* has been quite unanimously rejected for over three hundred years. The charge that has been frequently brought against the General Synod that it subscribes this *Variata* is and always has been unqualifiedly false. With all other Lutheran bodies it subscribes the so-called "Unaltered Augsburg Confession."

The *Confessional History* next gives the history of "the other old Lutheran Confessions," namely, the two Catechisms of Luther, the Apology, and the Schmalkald Articles. This is followed by a discussion of "the old Lutheran Confessions as Symbols from 1555 to 1580." It is shown that they only gradually assumed the latter status. The "testimonies" at length become "symbols." The process of this change is set forth in a quotation from Köllner (p. 309 f.): "At first the authority was based chiefly on the opposition from without—the Symbols were only the expression of what was believed—but, as has always been the case, very soon stress was laid on their doctrinal system as a norm of faith within. The Symbols became the norm of what must now be believed. When and how this was first done by public authority is a matter hard to determine. * * * The truth appears to be about as follows: Long before the composition of the Formula of Concord so much authority was laid on

the individual symbols that they were recommended as a norm of faith and doctrine, and here and there commanded. However, this does not appear to have occurred everywhere at the same time and in the same manner. In general prior to the composition of the Formula of Concord, or prior to the controversies which arose in consequence of its foundation, the principle of binding the Symbols does not seem to have been universally present."

"But it was different at the time of the composition of the Formula of Concord, and by and through its formation. Already before this there were instances of hard coercion of faith and enforced reception of the Symbols as norms of faith and doctrine, but afterwards more. The authority of the Symbols gradually rose so high, that not only did the rulers make the reception of them, in the sense mentioned above, an indispensable condition for every service in the Church, and regarded with disfavor those who resisted, but even the theologians themselves revered and defended them as having like authority with the Scriptures." This shows, it seems to us, not that there was anything wrong with the Symbols, but with those who gave them an authority such as they were never intended to have.

The controversies which arose in the Lutheran Church after the death of Luther in 1546 are set forth by Dr. Richard in chapters covering about one hundred pages. These unhappy controversies were inevitable, for such reasons as the restless temper of the age, the ambiguity of earlier doctrinal statements and the diverse tendencies of Luther and Melancthon. They raged with more or less ardor for thirty years sadly disrupting the Church.

Various efforts at pacification were made. These culminated in the Form of Concord. This Symbol in turn became a matter of much discussion from the day of its adoption to the present. The genesis and authorship of this document are carefully traced and set forth. Deep in the heart of the Church was the longing for peace and "efforts at pacification" were not wanting even early in the period of strife; "but the real beginning of pacificatory efforts are to be connected with Visitation of the Brunswick lands ordered by Duke Julius in 1568 and conducted by Andreae and Chemnitz." Through the efforts of the

Elector of Saxony various theologians were called together and these after many consultations produced the so-called Torgau Book, from which was derived the Bergic Book. The former furnished the *Epitome* and the latter the *Solida declaratio* of the Form of Concord. It is undeniable that this represents the conservative trend of doctrine as held by the Luther party as over against the adherents of Melanchthon.

The "subscription to the Form of Concord" is discussed at great length, and it is made to appear that subscriptions were "categorically demanded and taken." "Subscription to the Formula of Concord was obtained [in some instances also] diplomatically, and not by proper and ecclesiastical methods." "Of the Estates of the Augsburg Confession in Germany, about two-thirds subscribed the Formula."

In reference to this matter of subscription it is no doubt true that some of the subscriptions were obtained by constraint after the manner of the times, but it is equally true that restraint was used in preventing other subscriptions. For instance, "Brunswick accepted the Formula at first, but afterwards rejected it on account of Duke Julius' antipathy to Chemnitz. * * * The King of Denmark threw the two elegantly bound copies, sent him by his sister the Electress of Saxony, into the fire with his own hands, and forbade under severe penalty [that of death] the introduction of the Formula into his dominions" (p. 493). Köllner (Symbolik i. 581) says, "It must be kept prominently in mind that the greater part of those who did not accept it were not actuated by dogmatical considerations, but partly by political consideration, either freely or compulsorily, partly by faithful dependence upon Melanchthon, partly by wounded ambition because they were not invited sufficiently early to participate in its formulation, partly also because in one country while those who had most influence inclined to Calvinistic doctrine the majority of the teachers were in doctrinal harmony with the Formula. Nothing can be inferred from this failure to endorse the Formula as to a departure from its dogmas."

It is apparent from the foregoing that the withholding of subscription to the Formula must not be taken too seriously. While in some cases conscientious motives may be predicated, in others politics and prejudice prevailed. Moreover, it cannot be de-

nied that the choicest spirits of the Lutheran Church, men like Arndt, Spener and Francke, have accepted it.

"The effect of Subscription," as stated by Dr. Richard, is as follows: "The Formula of Concord in aiming to become the defining symbol of Lutheranism put an end to some distracting controversies and unified and solidified the adherents of the Augsburg Confession in by far the larger part of Germany." "But while the Formula of Concord did very generally settle former and contemporaneous controversies in the larger part of the Lutheran Church in Germany, it gave rise to new controversies. At different times and in different places its adherents fell out among themselves." "The next century witnessed the prolonged controversy between the Universities of Tübingen and Giessen, both of which were attached to the Formula of Concord." "It made a complete and irreconcilable breach between the Lutherans and the Calvinists."

Dr. Richard gives it as his opinion "that the impartial verdict of history will be that the Formula of Concord has done more harm than it has done good,¹ and the Lutheran Church would be numerically stronger, more closely united and more aggressively active, had the Formula of Concord never been written." We are frank to say that even Dr. Richard's presentation of the case fails to persuade us to share his opinion. It seems to us that the Formula was the logical outcome of the situation. It was the product of the best brain and deepest piety to be found among the theologians. Of the six men who formulated the Torgau Book, which is the foundation of the Form of Concord, three were eminent Melancthonians—Chemnitz, Selneckner, Chytraeus. These Dr. Richard lauds as follows: Of Chemnitz he says, "His vision was broad, his judgment was clear, his sympathy was generous." Of Selneckner he speaks in highest terms as a man, and as a theologian, "and while he contributed little or nothing directly to the *Torgau Book*, nor to the *Bergic Book*, he nevertheless, co-operated so heartily with Andreae and Chemnitz that they three have been justly designated as 'the triumvirate,' a designation given by Chytraeus in 1581." Of Chytraeus he says that he "represents the Melancthon type of doctrine with

¹ This is Dr. Schaaf's verdict. "Creeds of Christendom," i, 336. Dr. Schaaf was Reformed.

clearness and consistency." Chytraeus enjoyed the personal friendship of his master and was a precocious pupil and became a learned professor in the University of Rostock.

We cannot comprehend how men of this stamp could have given their consent to a document which Dr. Richard believes to have wrought great harm. Seeberg says of *these three men* and other followers of Melanchthon, that they drifted away "from the peculiar teachings of their master" and "became Lutherans from conviction."

Moreover "the impartial verdict of history" to which Dr. Richard so confidently appeals does not, it seems to us, support his contention that "the Formula of Concord has done more harm than it has done good." On this point Kurtz (*Church History* ii, 359, 360) says: "For that period of excitement and controversy it is quite remarkable and worthy of high praise for its good sense, moderation and circumspection, as well as for the accuracy and clearness with which it performed its task. The fact that nine thousand teachers of the Church subscribed it affords sufficient proof of it having fulfilled the end contemplated."

Moeller's *History of the Christian Church*, edited by Dr. G. Kawerau says (Vol. III, 294), "It was a splendid success, this Concordia, signed by 86 evangelical imperial States (51 Princes and Lords, amongst them three Electors [Saxony, Brandenburg, Palatinate] and 35 cities) and about 8,000—9,000 theologians; as little can the high dogmatic importance of this fundamental work be contested, which shrewdly drew conclusions in the direction of Lutheranism formerly taken by the sons and descendants of the Reformation, and at the same time by means of dialectic distinctions steered between the cliffs openly as errors of recognized positions. Just as in the dogmatic contests of the old Church, a formula in itself completely free from inconsistencies was never really attained to, but only a combination of postulates opposed to each other as equally recognized essentials, to the exclusion of the contrasted one-sided views, the same was the case in the Formula of Concord."

Seeberg declares that the Formula "succeeded in gradually restoring the peace of the Church." "The Formula did indeed make final the breach between the Lutheran-Melanchthonian and

the Calvinistic-Melanchthonian types in the Evangelical Church of Germany; but this breach was, under existing circumstances unavoidable. No reproach can be cast upon a Confession for giving expression to a condition of affairs already existing." "Historical investigation can only record, that the Formula accomplished the purpose which it had in view."²

Seeberg further says,³ "Although it [the Formula of Concord] cannot speak the last word of the religious knowledge of Lutheranism, it was a historical necessity. * * * The great importance of the Formula of Concord and of the Book of Concord lies in the fact that by them the Lutheran Church maintained its independence over against Calvinism. It must not be imagined that a theological party had here merely obtruded its views upon the Lutheran Church; in the Formula of Concord there have come to their full development the germs of a really existing consensus of belief. * * * Thus the Formula of Concord brought peace to the Lutheran Church, and for a long time gave direction to the efforts of the Church in the sphere of dogmatics."

Testimonies for and against the Formula may be multiplied. Many of these are no doubt the product of prejudice. Nevertheless, the verdict of Seeberg seems to us to be amply justified by history.

Of the intrinsic value of the Formula Dr. Richard says, "As a treatise on theological dogma, the Formula of Concord must be rated very high. Some of its expositions are most thoughtful and judicious. No theologian can afford to ignore it" (p. 489). "It is the present custom of the vast majority of Lutheran theologians to accord it high theological value, to apologize for it as a child of its time, and to quote it for the support and confirmation of didactic views. The number of those who find it to be the expression of their personal faith, in the sense in which it may be supposed to have expressed the theological convictions of those who composed it, is very small indeed. Theological study and especially the study of Symbolics, has changed the point of view, and has brought the distinction between the substance and

² *History of Doctrine*, ii, 382, 383, 389.

³ *New Schaaf Herzog Cyclopaedia*, iv, 343.

the form of the Confessions which is now almost universally recognized by Lutheran theologians" (p. 505).

"The chief objections raised against the Formula of Concord," says Dr. Richard, were the hypothesis of ubiquity, and the uses made of that hypothesis as a basis of the doctrine of the real bodily presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper; whereas it was contended and shown that the doctrine of ubiquity was not a part of the consensus of the Lutheran Church." (P. 516).

With these objections Dr. Richard fully sympathized. He also held that several articles were contradictory, for instance, the second and the eleventh articles. He elsewhere also rejected the doctrine of "Christ's Descent into Hell," "oral manducation," &c.

We frankly confess that personally we see no objections to these doctrines as taught in the Formula. It has always seemed to us that Dr. Richard read into it a meaning that is not there. The language of the Formula is carefully guarded. We have gone over it again and again and have always been impressed with its simplicity and moderation. It is true, however, that Dr. Richard was by no means alone in his views. For this very reason, namely, that there have always been serious differences of opinion as to the meaning and intention of the Formula on various points, it can not be pressed now as the exhibition of our common faith. It would be folly to endeavor to exclude from the Lutheran fold all who do not accept the Formula as they do the Augustana.

It is a fact, clearly and circumstantially set forth in several articles in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for 1907, from the pen of Dr. Evjen, that to-day only about one-third of acknowledged Lutherans in Europe receive the whole of the Book of Concord as symbolical. Two-thirds receive only the Augustana and the Small Catechism as such. "The Established Churches of Denmark and Norway do not accept other Reformation Symbols than the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism, and all Norwegian and Danish Lutheran Church bodies in America—not a single exception—are at one with them in this matter." "Lutherans in Sweden are divided on the question whether the Book of Concord is binding in their country." (L. Q., p. 70).

In America, it is true, that a majority of the general bodies of the Lutheran faith make the Formula of Concord a part of their confessional basis. Nevertheless, this fact has not been sufficiently potent to prevent strife and discord among them. It may be freely acknowledged, however, that the teachings of the Formula of Concord have entered into the warp and woof of Lutheran doctrine and that it is a large constituent in making, what is called, "the Lutheran Confession." When theologians outside of our Church set forth the Lutheran position on various points they generally quote the Formula of Concord.

The position, therefore, which we take in reference to the attitude which the General Synod ought to maintain toward the Formula of Concord is just that which exists to-day. This position allows individual ministers absolute liberty in the matter. No man is praised or blamed for his views. But as there is not a harmony of views, it would be unwise on the part of a majority to force others to submit in a matter so vital.

It will be argued, no doubt, that the attitude of the Lutherans in Europe together with a minority in this country, (constituting together a majority of all Lutherans), in refusing to subscribe the Formula of Concord is the product of prejudice, party spirit, misunderstanding and confessional laxity. Be that as it may, it nevertheless seems a useless, if not an impossible task, to endeavor to effect the universal adoption of the Formula in the face of the fact that this has not been done after an effort of three centuries.

Moreover, it is apparent from Dr. Richard's book, that on dogmatic grounds there always have been, still are and ever will be, good and intelligent Lutherans who can not be made to subscribe the Formula. Shall these brethren be ignored or cast out? Shall the General Synod which has done good service for almost a century be distracted by forcing on its attention a matter that has always been fraught with misapprehension?

As we have intimated already, we personally see no objection to the Formula of Concord as an exposition of the Lutheran faith. Nevertheless, we recognize that it is not entirely self-consistent, that after these centuries it has become somewhat archaic, that it is entirely too lengthy for a creed, and that it has never given general satisfaction. Moreover, there is no alterna-

five between the acceptance of the Formula on the one hand and no confessional basis on the other. We do have the incomparable Augustana as the generic and universally received Confession of our Lutheran Church. But it will be said that the Augustana is not explicit enough or broad enough to cover many important points of doctrine. Who would deny that this is true also of the Formula, and indeed of all human writings? Human thinking is progressive. Every age emphasizes some new idea or point of view. The Church is not stagnant. Shall the creeds be perpetually revised to meet new phases of thought, or shall new interpretations of the old creeds be formulated? No one for a moment suggests the necessity of revising the Augustana. It still stands the prince of all modern creeds. If it needs any formulated additions let us make them now in the light of three hundred years of growth in the knowledge of language and of science in general. But the objection would at once arise that this is not an age of creed-making and that we would probably never get together in this manner. Even so. Therefore, let the old Augustana stand as it has for nearly four hundred years, a bulwark of sound doctrine.

We may be pardoned for repeating here what we have elsewhere said concerning the sufficiency of the Augsburg Confession as a doctrinal standard:

"The Augsburg Confession commends itself as an adequate doctrinal basis on grounds such as the following:

1. It is in harmony with the great, ancient, ecumenical creeds, of which indeed it is in a sense a development.

2. It was framed by learned and pious men after the most serious deliberation. "Every position of the Confession had been pondered again and again, had been tried in the crucible of the Word, had been experienced in its practical power in life, and had been maintained against sharp attacks, by our great Confessors as well as by thousands of humble and earnest private Christians."

3. It is the original confession of our Church, the declaration of its faith and the basis upon which it rests. It is the oldest and the most widely received of all Protestant confessions, and the inspiration of some of them.

⁴ *The Lutheran Observer*, Jan. 3, 1908.

4. It has stood the test of nearly four centuries and is to-day incomparably superior to all other modern Confessions. The whole Lutheran Church rejoices in it, and a majority of its members desire no substitute for it, nor addition to it.

5. It is the most generic expression of the Lutheran conception of the Word. It carefully avoids what is particularistic or of minor importance, dealing only with great truths. "The Augsburg Confession," says Krauth, "is the symbol of Lutheran catholicity; all the other distinctive portions of the Book of Concord are symbols of Lutheran particularity, creeds of Lutheran Churches, but not in an undisputed sense of the Lutheran Church."

6. It is the broadest platform of union and of co-operation, not only for Lutherans but for all evangelical Protestants. Well did the great historian Giesler say, "If the question be, Which, among Protestant Confessions, is best adapted for forming the foundation of a union among Protestant Churches, we declare ourselves unreservedly for the Augsburg Confession." It has commended itself always to devout and earnest men, like Zinzendorf. Dr. Schaff declared that with some reservation on a single article he could heartily subscribe our Confession. We believe that if there ever shall be a great united Church on earth, the Augsburg Confession will need less revision than any other creed.

7. It has always affected the faith and the life of its sincere adherents for good. Walking in the path which it has marked out, our General Synod has found peace in believing, security against error, joy in fellowship with all Christians, and fruitfulness in good works. Whatever deficiencies may be charged against us, we are sure that they cannot be justly ascribed to any inadequacy in our confessional basis.

Let us hope that useless agitation on this subject may not continue. Let us be patient with each other and especially with those in other Lutheran bodies; and let us always hold out to the latter the palm branch and the assurance of willing co-operation on the basis of the immortal, catholic Augustana, but let us not desert the Gibraltar of our faith.

A general review of Dr. Richard's book would not have demanded the lengthy digression on the Formula of Concord. We

felt impelled, however, to make this digression because of the practical bearings of the matter.

⁵“It would doubtless have been a great pleasure to the author to read the reviews and criticisms of his work, and to elucidate and substantiate the claims resulting from his researchful labors. But he has now left the truth to vindicate itself on the pages of history. He labored to reach objective facts, and to relate them according to his consciousness of historic verity, a consciousness illumined by wide researches.”

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE II.

THE GREEK OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES WILLIAM SUPER, PH.D., LL.D.

During the present century, although less than a decade of it has passed, the attitude of scholars toward the original language of the New Testament has undergone a great change. Until near the close of the preceding century the belief was general that it was written in a sort of special tongue which could be understood only by the initiated, and that it therefore differed from the Greek in current use. In both phraseology and vocabulary it diverges so widely from classical Greek that men who had formed their taste by the study of Plato and Xenophon felt such an aversion toward it that one can probably not name a single savant who was or is equally conversant with both the classical and the Jewish or Christian Greek. The profane writers of antiquity took no notice of either of the latter, since all of them despised the Jews, and without further inquiry identified the Christians with the older sect.

It is not necessary here to go into details as to the reasons that have brought about the change to which I have called attention above. Let it suffice to say that the last two or three decades, so fruitful in discoveries in many fields, have placed within the reach of students of the past much more ample means than were accessible before for gaining an insight into the language that was spoken over almost the whole world from a period not long subsequent to the death of Alexander the Great to the fourth or fifth century of our era. The reason for the misconception under which theologians so long labored is not difficult to understand. There was in existence very little Greek contemporary with which that of the New Testament could be compared except that of the purists. All the profane authors including even Philo and Josephus patterned after classical models so far as they could. But the Greek of both the Old Testament and the New is a language measurably distinct. It is true, there is some resemblance between the language of the Septuagint and that of

the New Testament, but it is rather remote. When we recall that the Hebrew of the Old Testament had gone completely out of current use long before the Christian era and that the Septuagint had taken its place among the Jews, we are not surprised that the coincidents are not more numerous. There was thus no Greek with which that of the Evangelists and the Apostles could be compared except that of the classical writers; hence the supposition was but natural that it must be *sui generis*.

While it need not be regarded as remarkable that the error arose, it must be considered strange that it persisted so long after the study of languages had been placed on a scientific basis. It does not require much reflection on the purpose for which languages are used to convince any one that their primary object is to be understood. St. Paul apprehended this point quite clearly when he wrote to the Corinthians: "Unless ye utter by the tongue speech easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for you will be speaking into the air;" and more to the same effect. He clearly discerned the importance of speaking so as to be *easily* understood. But if he or any one else had spoken in a language not fully comprehended by his hearers, or with a pronunciation that affected them disagreeably they would soon have got tired listening. It would seem, therefore, almost self-evident that the Gospel was first proclaimed in a language that was comprehended without difficulty by those to whom it was addressed. Neither its grammar nor its vocabulary can have differed materially from those in common use. This must also have been the case with what was communicated in writing. The more important the communication sought to be conveyed the greater the need of being fully apprehended. We may be certain that the first preachers of the Good News took care that there should be no ambiguity about their message. When now and then they used a word or a phrase that seems to need interpretation, the interpretation is added, as in the case, for instance, of the last words of Jesus. Those who have new truths to proclaim are compelled to do so by means of the existing vocabulary. George Fox and John Bunyan had a message that was strange to many who heard it for the first time. Their auditors could not enter into the spiritual significance of the words they heard from these strange men when they listened to them for

the first time; but it was not because of the vocabulary. This was plain enough. No one before Kant had written such German as he wrote. It was difficult to understand; not because his words were new, but because he pressed into them a larger meaning. We may be quite sure that the first teachers of Christianity did no more than this. They employed the Greek language even when speaking and writing to Romans rather than the Latin because it was more generally known, and perhaps to some extent for the reason that the way had been prepared for it among the Jews by the Septuagint. Nobody denies that the New Testament writers used many Greek words in a sense different from that which they usually conveyed. The point to be noted is that they did not resort to new and strange ones. Even among the different writers when compared with one another, the same word does not convey the same meaning. Let us take the word translated in our English version *righteousness*. It is in common use among the profane writers in the sense given to it by the Evangelists. But in St. Paul's writings it (*dikaio-sune*) signifies "a state acceptable to God which becomes a sinner's possession through that faith by which he embraces the grace of God offered to him in the expiatory death of Jesus Christ." Let us suppose that a man who knew German only as it is spoken by some of the uneducated natives of eastern Pennsylvania were to deliver an address or a sermon before an audience of native Germans, how much of what he said would be understood. Perhaps one-half, perhaps less. Now be it remembered that according to the purists, the Greek of the New Testament, when compared with the Periclean, does not rank much higher than does the Pennsylvania German when compared with that of Goethe or Schiller. If the speaker and hearers in the case supposed above were reversed the same answer would hold good. I recall that I once heard a Pennsylvania German say, after listening to a sermon by a native of Germany, that he was hardly intelligible because of the "poor German" he used.

The Greek of the New Testament is not uniform either in grammar or vocabulary. There are more than 150 words peculiar to the Apocalypse although written by the author of the Fourth Gospel. In the Gospel there are about 100 words not used elsewhere in the New Testament and 11 in the epistle writ-

ten by John. In Paul's longer letter and that to Philemon there are 627 words that are peculiar and 110 that are common to two or more epistles. To Colossians 38 are peculiar, none of which occur in the Septuagint, and of the 627 mentioned above not more than a score are unmistakeably from the work of the Seventy. Even the short letter of Jude contains 20 words not used elsewhere in the New Testament.

English and German Protestants with few exceptions get an erroneous idea of the style of the Bible from the translation. We have become so accustomed to its phraseology that we do not note how archaic it is. In common speech nobody says, "it came to pass," "whatsoever," "whosoever," "touching the resurrection," "howbeit they looked," "ye have heard," "es begab sich," "gen Himmel," "gen Bethlehem," "die Geschichte die geschehen, ist," "gruen Krut," "kreucht und fleugt."

Let any one compare the familiar English translation with one of the Twentieth Century here given. "When, for instance, you are going with your opponent before a magistrate, on your way to the court do your best to get rid of him; for fear that he should drag you before the judge, when the judge will hand you over to the sheriff of the court, and the sheriff throw you into prison. You will not, I tell you, come out until you have paid the last cent." Confining our remarks to Luther's version we have to note that it is the work of one man and therefore as nearly uniform in style as the nature of the subject permits. It does not reflect the divergences of the originals either of the Old or of the New Testament. The diction of the poetical parts of the former and almost the whole of the latter is so enchanting, so smooth and flowing, so uniform that we read it aloud over and over for the thousandth time; yet it does not lose its charm: for is not a thing of beauty a joy forever? How thoroughly Luther understood the linguistic conditions with which he had to deal and how completely he overcame its difficulties is evident from the manner in which he expressed himself on these points. Says he: "One who wants to speak German does not ask the Latin how he shall do it; he must ask the mother in the house; the children in the streets; the common man in the market-place and note how they speak, then translate accordingly. They will then understand what is said to them because it is German. When

Christ says *ex abundantia cordis os loquitur*, I would translate, if I followed the Papists, *Aus dem Überflusz der Herzens redet der Mund*. But tell me, is this talking German? What German understands such stuff? No, the mother in the house and the plain man would say, *Wes das Herz voll ist des gehet der Mund ueber.*"¹ Luther was a scholar, yet he never got out of touch with the plain people. Though the companion of princes, his heart always remained loyal to the class from which he sprang. It is sometimes said that the hardest books to write are those which everybody thinks he could write. It was said to Paul that much learning had made him mad. But he knew better. Many people in our day would call him a fool just as some of his contemporaries did. Yet no one ever apprehended more clearly the nature of the cause for which he gave up everything. He too, knew how to address those to whom he brought a message of hope and good cheer. There never was but one Bunyan. How eloquent this unassuming thinker! In the command of language the savant and the common man must meet on the same ground if they would reach the heart of those to whom they speak. Scholarship can not take anything from nor add anything to genius.

We can often obtain considerable light on comparatively obscure conditions by comparing them with others that are more or less similar but better known. Let us take Germany for comparison. Its mediaeval literature which arose under the Hohenstauffens is composed in the Swabian dialect. When one who is familiar with this type of German hears the Nibelungen Lays read aloud he has but little difficulty in understanding them, widely as they differ from the literary speech. If this South German ascendancy had continued a century longer it would have created a modern German language differing considerably from that of the present. But when Charles IV became emperor the court was transferred to middle Germany and the same dynasty continued on the imperial throne for almost a century. It was at this time the first German university, that of Prague, was founded. Through the influence of this dynasty a sort of common German language was constituted which thenceforth re-

¹ Those who are interested in this subject will find further information in my *History of the German Language*, page 77, and the authorities there cited.

maintained the foundation of further development. This language furnished the type on which Luther's translation is based. Yet his work met with much opposition until it was finally recognized as the standard. He says in one place, apparently in justification of his method of procedure: "I use the common German tongue in order that both North Germans and South Germans may understand me. I speak according to the German chancery which is followed by all princes and kings of Germany. The emperor, Maximilian, and the elector, the duke of Saxony, have drawn the German languages into one language known in the Roman empire." This is just what the writers of the New Testament apparently endeavored to do. But the opposition to their Greek and all the later Greek came from the purists who depreciated any departure from the classic standard, whereas in Germany it came from those attached to the local peculiarities and from the Roman Catholics. Before the invention of printing fourteen translations of the Bible had appeared in High German and four in Low. How near the ascendancy came to remaining in the South may be judged from the circumstance that Stuttgart is still the second literary center of the empire and the greatest book-mart after Leipzig.²

That there was some controversy as to the matter of language in at least one of the early churches is evident from the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. In Paul's time Corinth was primarily a Roman city having been rebuilt about a century earlier by a Roman colony after lying waste an equally long time. But in the course of two or three generations the population had become thoroughly cosmopolitan. There was evidently

² With what tenacity the Germans cling to their local peculiarities of speech may be noted not only by those who travel over the country but by listening to the lectures of the professors in German universities. Professor Beck, whom I used to hear in Tuebingen, spoke a very broad Swabian in his vigorous diatribes against the older school of theologians named after the same institution. It is further worthy of note that the little kingdom of Wirtemberg, which is primarily Protestant has given birth to more thinkers of world-wide renown than Bavaria, which is mainly Catholic, with more than three times the population. As I write there comes to my mind the names of Reuchlin, Kepler, Hegel, Schelling, Schiller, Uhland, Bauer, Strauss and Zeller. It would probably be impossible to name ten other men of modern times born within so limited a space who have exercised so great an influence or aroused so much discussion as these. There is no reason to believe that the Bavarians are intellectually inferior to their western neighbors. It must therefore have been their religion that arrested their intellectual development.

a question in the Christian community whether it was Greek, or Roman or Jewish. And there must have been other languages or at least dialects represented, else why should the Apostle thank God that he spoke more tongues than they all. We can scarcely infer from this that he spoke but three or that there would have been any controversy if there had been a possible choice between two only. We can hardly reach any other conclusion than that Paul not only knew the three languages above referred to, but also some of the subordinate dialects. It would seem however from the account of the affair in Lystra given in the fourteenth chapter of Acts that neither Paul nor Barnabas understood the language used by the people or they would have protested at once against the proposed deification. It may have been Greek in a corrupt form. Paul probably spoke in Greek which would be at least intelligible to those who could not speak it readily. We may see a similar case in the Swiss diet where speeches are made in German, French and Italian that are usually understood by all the members although most of them venture to make a public address in but one.

With the rise of the Macedonian empire Athens lost its intellectual primacy in a great measure and Alexandria came to the front. The Greek there used was probably founded on the Macedonian dialect. This became widely known among the Jews through the medium of the Septuagint. So completely had this translation taken the place of the original Hebrew by the middle of the first century that it is a question whether Philo, who wrote much on the Old Testament could read the original with ease. The stronger probability is that he knew the Hebrew, but as he was writing chiefly for gentiles he refers to the Greek translation exclusively which was alone accessible to them. All the citations in the New Testament are from the Septuagint. There is no doubt that this biblical, or more particularly, New Testament Greek took up many local words which had however already become generally current. How otherwise can we explain the circumstance that all of its parts contain so many vocables not found in others? The enormous extent of territory covered by the Greek language in ancient times is one of the marvels of history. It seems especially incredible to those who consider the language as particularly difficult. Not only was it spoken on

Greek territory proper in Europe and Asia; the Romans employed it in their intercourse with the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians and the Jews. At the court of the kings of Parthia, in whose territory lay the ancient Babylon, Greek tragedies were brought upon the stage.

The Greek Testament has been studied with great diligence by theologians since the first appearance of the text under the editorship of Erasmus almost four hundred years ago; but they were more concerned about the doctrines than about the language. For some reason the latter received comparatively little attention from philologists. The field so long neglected is now in process of intensive cultivation. Much light is being thrown upon many of the problems involved by a larger insight into Modern Greek. This is found to have its roots much farther back and deeper than was formerly supposed. It is safe to say that the next complete lexicon of New Testament Greek will differ in many respects from any and all now before the public in either English or German.

Let us return to the Germans. As we are not concerned with their history it will suffice to note that the earliest known form of their language is the fragment of the Bible translated about the middle of the fourth century when the Goths were temporarily settled along the lower Danube. This antedates any other portion of the language by about four hundred years. The noteworthy fact about this now fragmentary translation is that although embracing not more than three thousand words it includes many that are easily recognizable by their similarity to words still in use. All the Germanic tribes must have originated from a single pair, at what time and where is a matter on which it is not worth while to expend conjectures. Of course this primitive language was uniform. But when they begin to emerge from the dim and dubious light of prehistoric darkness they are already broken up into many fragments that betray a more or less close relationship. This divergence was strongly marked from the earliest times, as is still the case. However, the harmonizing force of the school and of great writers has produced a uniformity to the eye although there is still a good deal of diversity in the manner of pronouncing the printed page. Here then we find a rude people in possession of an unwritten

tongue which is nevertheless capable of expressing all the thoughts, feelings and emotions covering so wide a range as the Bible. We do not know whence this language came, or how it could spontaneously reach such a high stage of development. The existing documents however prove the fact. Yet the language has grown almost continuously from the earliest times. The German, though comparatively pure, has assimilated many words which may now be regarded as completely naturalized, albeit of foreign birth. Returning now to the Greek, we find it first represented by three or four tribes temporarily settled about the shores of the Aegean. They too had no written language but were in possession of a great mass of poetical literature, some of which is preserved in the Homeric poems. Like the German, this early Greek had its dialects when it first appears on record. For the ancient world, however, the Attic eventually became the norm for writers and remained so up to the end of the ancient world. However in the course of time this classic Greek ceased to be of interest to all but the educated few. The dialects spoken in early Greece were never blotted out. While there was in Greek as in German a fair degree of grammatical uniformity there was a great deal of diversity in vocabulary and doubtless also in pronunciation. Words that were incorporated into the Greek from other languages underwent a process of transformation so that they became genuinely Greek although of foreign ancestry. There is not any other way of explaining the differences in the vocabulary of the New Testament of which mention has been made above. How could the writers of the New Testament, most of whom were natives of Palestine, employ such a widely divergent vocabulary unless it was influenced by the local linguistic conditions among which they labored? In other words, they made use of the speech of the region in which they wrote or of the people whom they addressed. Although it was all Greek, it was no more uniform than is the German of to-day. Experience has shown that a language will always have vogue beyond its natural boundaries if it conveys information in which foreigners are interested. For centuries French was learned by most of the educated and governing classes outside of France in Continental Europe because it was the language of diplomacy and the bearer of an important literature. The Roman empire

prepared the way for the Romish Church and Latin became, as it still is, the ecclesiastical language of the religious organization which at the present time probably extends over the widest domain. Arabic is so intimately associated with Mohammedanism that they almost always go hand in hand. In the course of time the boundaries of Greek were more circumscribed, as the empire gradually fell to pieces, until it was confined almost within the walls of Constantinople and Greek territory proper. Within the last fifty years it has been very slowly extending its boundaries; and there are a few enthusiasts who would fain believe that it is the coming world-speech. We may be certain, however, that its conquests are at an end and that its chief interest will be historical rather than practical.

Athens, Ohio.

ARTICLE III.

CHRISTIAN POLYTHEISM, ALIAS THE TRINITY.

BY REV. F. H. KNUBEL.

The above title involves an old charge against Christians. Unitarians of all times have asserted that our trinitarian belief is not far removed from bald polytheism. All of our efforts at explanation fail to satisfy them. It should become a question to us, therefore, whether there be any fact in their claim. Are we in theory or precept or practical belief ever guilty of the heathenism we also claim to abhor? A correction of such error could only be beneficial. The writer is convinced by personal experience and conversation with others that, good as our theories and theological teachings may be, nevertheless all Christians in their practical, working ideas concerning the Trinity are more or less involved in harmful polytheistic conceptions. The tendency of the mind, always to picture its ideas to itself, works inevitably as soon as that mind begins to receive the mystery of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. It wishes to see, even though it can not explain. It must have the concrete. Awed by the wonder of this truth, which it believes through Jesus, it nevertheless ignorantly and quite unconsciously gives itself a practical vision of the mystery, believing it must have such vision, in order to live its belief. Herein the mind is right. All revealed truth is practical, serviceable for life in the highest degree. Nor has the Savior left us without what we thus need concerning the mysterious Trinity, did we but heed carefully what He has taught. There is a perfectly legitimate picture for the mind to hold. He has told us what the concrete view of the Trinity for our practical life is to be. We have confused the simplicity thereof, and thus been led astray.

In explaining now the assertions thus made, it may seem that a roundabout course is being pursued. It is chosen, however, with the hope of rendering the explanation clearer.

In the hearts of all men dwells the thought of God. They were not taught it; it is an original possession. He is recognized

as a Being with Whom they are in relation, to Whom they are responsible, Whom above all others they ought to know. The universal impulse is to know Him. Undying is the consciousness that He may be known, that man is capable of that knowledge. The cry of the Psalmist, "As the heart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God," is in more ignorant form the cry of the heathen also, and in unconscious form the cry of the newborn babe. The popular hymn, "Nearer, My God, to Thee," would be, if known, just as popular even where Christianity has not been proclaimed. Man everywhere feels for God.

Man in this life, however, never learns fully that he can not by searching find out God--that God is truly known only as He reveals Himself to man. Everywhere, even among us Christians, the vain quest for God is carried on. Man insists upon forming out of his own thoughts an image of God, and will not abide by revelation. He breaks the first commandment steadily, making unto himself a likeness. How varied the pictured images! The heathen forms his in stone and wood, gold and silver. The more cultured keep their image within the mind. Yet all alike shape it themselves. How crude the images are! None can conceive anything higher than or outside of what is in his own thoughts; and so God's accusation in the Psalms is universally just: "Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such a one as thyself." Men refuse to be as thoughtful and honest as were the ancient Athenians, who recognized "the *unknown* God." They will not listen when He in His revelation says, "This is what I am." So every man in reality makes his own God, dips his brush in the colors of his own thoughts and paints his God, carves an idol from his own imaginations. The world is as full of these manufactured, fiction, false Gods as it is of men.

We have said that Christians also are never fully removed from this error. Let us see. We believe that in Jesus there has come to us the revelation of God; that He is God, come to man in visible form, showing Himself; that "in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." We believe that He is the answer to the universal longing for God, saying to us, "I am He." We believe that it is constantly the delight of the Christian, knowing now his revealed God, to forsake his low, foolish imaginings of

God, to know no other God excepting the God revealed in Jesus, no longer to make unto himself a likeness. What, however, is the tendency, as men become Christians or as they grow from childhood into better understanding of the revelation of Jesus? There comes to them the truth of the Trinity, the truth of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. It is acknowledged mystery. Nevertheless, the Christian mind desires a concrete presentation. Search your own minds now, whether the following is not to some degree the process that takes place. That old, native, in-born idea of God in men's thoughts is allowed to remain and is labelled by the mind, "The Father." Truly it is altered more or less greatly by what Jesus has shown. It is uplifted, enlarged, ennobled. But it remains nevertheless the same, mingled with our own false conceptions of what God is, formed in part out of our own searchings for God. It contains elements of ourselves, so that God may continue to say, "Thou thoughtest that I was such a one as thyself." That is what we practically do with the revelation of the Trinity, so far as the First Person therein is concerned. Distinct therefrom we have Jesus, the Son, a separate conception to our minds. We realize that there is a mysterious unity somehow between our conception of Jesus Christ and that old, remodeled idea of God, which we named the Father. We know that He, the Son, is God also, and liveth in us. Nevertheless, the two are distinct to our thoughts, and the old, original idea of God is appropriated by the First Person of the Trinity. Aside from these two, there is also the hazy conception of the Holy Spirit, almost entirely unknown to us—so much so, that even intelligent Christians are frequently heard to speak of the Spirit as "it." Dismissing our attention from the cloudy ideas concerning the Holy Spirit, it is not too much to say that the ordinary Christian goes no further than what we have stated in his ideas of the Trinity. The imagination has formed its pictures of the Father and the Son. They are separate, distinct pictures. The Father is God to them. The Son is human, and strugglingly divine. The two conceptions of Father and Son are not only distinct, but are sometimes almost antagonistic. This is manifest in all ideas of the atonement which picture the Son as rendering propitiation to the Father. Distinctly there are two Gods. It is polytheism. Even the ideas of advanced, educated

Christians are not far removed from the plain falsity. A little heart-searching will reveal the error in us all. A little candor with ourselves will convince us that some radical change is needed in our working picture of the Trinity.

Where is the error, the wrong, the heresy? Just in this. That first, old, reconstructed idea of God, which has been labelled "the Father," is an idol. It is of our own making. It is not the revealed God, but always includes the results of our own vain searches for God. We bow down ourselves to it and worship it, though it is a likeness we have made unto ourselves. It has no existence, excepting in our own childish minds. The more thoroughly we eradicate it, the purer and better and more helpful will our Christian faith become. He who says, "I am the Lord, thy God," and will not endure another beside Him, demands that our iconoclasm be complete.

Who then is the true God? Only Jesus Christ. What is our duty? To place Him in our hearts where that old, first, corrupted idea of God existed. That idea, in some remodeled form, is not to be called "the Father." Nothing of our subjective self is to remain therein. He, the concrete, objective Jesus Christ, known through the Word of God, believed in as our Lord and our God—He is to enter into our hearts, appropriate and fill that old idea of God, and be our God indeed. Thus shall we have only the *revealed* God as our God, and thus have the true God as our only God.

Will this illustration make our duty clearer? I long for a true friend, having never known such—one who will embody the noblest ideal in the word friendship. I imagine what such a friend would be to me, what he ought to be. I picture him to my mind, though I have never seen his face. I search for him and do not find him. A day comes when one whom I have long known and companioned with, but whose value and whose place in my life I have never estimated aright, comes to be revealed to me as the one whom mistakenly I have sought. He *has been* my friend, though not recognized by me as such. He had not seemed to fit all my ideal of friendship, because he was better than that. With my new, true understanding of friendship in him, this man enters into my heart and owns completely the place which the idea formerly occupied. The idea no longer exists. *He* is

there. So it is to be with our thought of God and with Jesus, Whom we have long known but not estimated aright. When He has been revealed to us aright, He will take the place of that thought. The thought, as a mere thought, will be gone. *He* will be there. The trouble with us is after all, that we do not fully recognize the deity of Jesus Christ. Practically we lower His glory. We speak well of Him, we theorize and theologize perhaps correctly enough, but we allow our busily imagining minds to play us sad tricks. We do not turn our hearts to the one legitimate, concrete, practical picture of our Triune God, which Jesus furnishes to us, viz., Himself. We confuse the simplicity thereof and are led astray. We are to have not one thought of our God apart from Him. We know nothing of God apart from Him. It is not to be for us a thought of the Father as God, and then another, Jesus Christ, God also, and in cases subordinate. We must never think God without thinking Jesus Christ as filling up the thought of God for us. Never!

It may surely be asked, what then are we to do with the conceptions of the Trinity, especially as regards the Father and the Holy Spirit? The answer is, nothing at all. The Trinity is a reality. We know there are three separate Persons. However, and this is vital, they are not separate Persons, whom *we know separately*. We know directly only the one Person, the Son. We have no direct, personal knowledge whatever of the other two Persons. We do not know the Spirit, excepting in His work of glorifying the Son; we are distinctly told that in coming, He does not speak of Himself. We do not know the Father (it may seem bold to say, but is emphatically true), any better than we know the Spirit; the One is as indefinite to us as the Other. We know the Father only in the Son. Recall Jesus' conversation with Philip as to seeing the Father: "He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, show us the Father;" Philip was told that his mistaken question arose from a failure to know Jesus aright. Recall also that "No man knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whom the Son shall reveal Him." Realize fully the text concerning Jesus, "In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," and it will be clear that He alone embodies what is to be our entire thought of God. It may seem bold utterance, but at least in practical Chris-

tian thinking is true, that our thought of God ought to be unitarian thought, with Jesus Christ as the unit we think. We can not now know the Father and the Holy Spirit, so as to think them personally separate. We ought, therefore, not make the attempt. Jesus' words to Philip forbid it. All the fulness of the Godhead is unified bodily for our present thought in Jesus Christ. The Godhead's entire relation with this earth, from its beginning until the new earth shall be, is mediated through the Son. It's focus is in Him. He is the only Person of the Trinity Who deals directly with us and can be personally known. All revelation of God to us is in Him. The entire Bible, Old Testament as well as New, is the enliterated Christ. The Old Testament theophanies are Christophanies. He Who speaks in the Old Testament to and through lawgiver, psalmist, and prophet is always the Son. To this earth He is Alpha and Omega. There is no other God.

It has been the writer's practice thus, in teaching children, to accustom them to the use of the name Jesus as a perfect alternative for the name God, in telling Old Testament stories. It is right to do so, is clarifying to children's conceptions, is a revelation to their elders, gives to all the properly exalted knowledge of Jesus—Who He is. By Jesus were all things created; Jesus walked in the Garden of Eden; it was Jesus whom Noah believed; it was faith in Jesus which was counted unto Abraham for righteousness. He whose coming the entire Old Testament promises and so longingly awaits, is the same One who constantly speaks in the Old Testament. Christmas begins the glorious *seeing*, in human likeness and for human ability, of what had long been only *heard*. It was the voice which the world had long heard, that spoke to the multitudes on the shore of Galilee and to the Pharisees in the temple at Jerusalem. Well, therefore, might He tell them, that if they were of God they would hear His words.

It becomes manifest also, as a further practical conclusion, that there is no bond of relation between Christians and all other monotheists of the earth. Their monotheism is not ours, for their God is not our God. It is not our God at all whom Jews and Unitarians worship. The only true God is Jesus Christ. They who do not know Him know no living God at all. It is an idol, an idol of their own imagination, to whom they pray.

There can be no religious fellowship between them and us. We cannot accord to them even the sympathetic idea that they know the living God at all rightly. We can recognize nothing as having alliance of any sort with Christianity, unless it accord complete deity to Jesus Christ. All else to us is heathenism, if we would name it rightly.

Surely, it can not seem to any as though this practical and, for our present state, right view of the Trinity is in any sense dishonoring to the Father and the Spirit. Much rather must we realize that it is only thus, that we rightly honor the Son in our hearts. It is also sufficient for us to remember, that both the Father and the Holy Spirit, in this sinful era of the earth, are united in honoring and glorifying the Son. The resplendent and effulgent glory of Triune Divine light is centered in Him, for this earth at least. He is the light of the world. Why this should be so, we cannot now fully know. That it is so, the Scriptures abundantly testify.

The manner of our prayer may appear limited by the truth we have emphasized. It may appear as though prayer to Christ were alone proper thus. In answer, it were perhaps sufficient to say that the prayers of devout Christians are as a rule increasingly addressed to the Savior. The full answer is, however, that no matter how we address our prayers, to God or to the Father or to the Spirit, Christ receives them all. He is the intercessor, in Whom alone all prayer is acceptable.

We have not undertaken to catalogue any of the rich benefits to his life which this clarified view of his God gives to the Christian. Since it exalts his Savior to him, the results for him are inestimable. More truly than ever does his God become a near, a known, and a dear God.

It remains merely to mention what the hereafter thus holds for us. When Melancthon listed his reasons for desiring to die, he placed first this one, that then he would know the Trinity. Simple, but profound is that reason. The lover of God longs above all to know Him. Here we know directly but the one Person, though in Him all fulness dwells—yes, and know Him only as clothed in the human Word and the earthly Sacraments. What shall it be when the unclouded glory of Three Persons in our One God shall be manifest and known to our loving hearts?

New York City, N. Y.

ARTICLE IV.

CHRYSTOSTOM AS A MAN AND AS A PREACHER.

BY REV. CHARLES WILLIAM HEATHCOTE, B.D.

Preaching and prophesying occupied prominent places in the history of Israel. The prophets were prime ministers and special advisers to the kings and princes of that chosen nation. Elijah rebuked King Ahab and Queen Jezebel and their wicked court. He was a great preacher of righteousness and prevailed against the false prophets. Isaiah was the counsellor and adviser of King Hezekiah of Judah. Isaiah, a man of brilliant culture and keen intellect, prophesied for God and preached against the wickedness of the people.

And when Christ came into the world and established his Church as a divine institution, preaching and teaching the truths occupied the foremost place. The final interview and command of the Master with the disciples was, (Matt. 28:19), Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.

(Mark 16:15), Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation.

Thus preaching has always occupied a prominent place in the history of the Church. Though for perhaps short periods decline may have been noticed, nevertheless there has always been a strong revival and it has never failed in its divinely appointed mission. After the death of the apostles, true preaching lagged for a short time, but an inner development took place in the Church itself, and during the Patristical Period there is a gradual rise in the power and strength of preaching until it reached its culmination in Chrysostom.

John Chrysostom, or known as John the Golden Mouth, was born in 347 in Syrian Antioch. His father's name was Secun-

dus and his mother's Anthusa, both of excellent parentage. His father was a prominent officer in the Imperial army of Syria. He died when his son was a young child. Anthusa, his mother, was a woman of excellent virtue, and although a widow at the age of twenty and having several opportunities to marry again, she refused in order to devote all her time to her son and daughter. It was her desire to bring up her son free from the vices and corruptions of Antioch, one of the most notoriously wicked cities of the time. She, herself a Christian, brought up her son under Christian influence. She had resolved to give him the best education possible, in order to fit him for his life-work whatever honorable vocation he might follow. She may be more than favorably compared with Monica, the virtuous mother of Augustine, or Norma the mother of Gregory Nazianzum. When Libanius, the great rhetorician, heard of her devotion and virtue he said, "What women these Christians have!"

Anthusa carefully trained her son in the Bible, and pointed out to him the necessity of living a clean moral life.

When a young man Chrysostom was sent to attend the lectures of Libanius who was an able rhetorician and philosopher in Antioch. At this time Chrysostom was not destined for service in the Church, but for the legal profession. In the school of Libanius he evinced much brilliancy as a student and those early powers of oratory which were destined to make him one of the world's greatest preachers.

When he started his legal career, he at once began to win distinction. His speeches were powerful and eloquent. He was in a position to rise to power, influence and honor in the government. However, the deceit, fraud and greed of his colleagues turned his keenly sensitive moral nature against the profession and he resolved to give it up.

The early training he had received from his mother and being influenced by his friend Basil, he resolved to change his life's vocation. Of his friend he says: "We had the same eagerness and zeal about the studies at which we worked, and a passionate desire produced by the same circumstances was equally strong in both of us. For not only when we were attending school, but after we had left it, when it became necessary to consider what course of life it would be best for us to adopt, we

found ourselves to be of the same mind." (The Fathers, p. 33).

When Basil devoted his life to monasticism, it made a deep impression upon Chrysostom's life. When he was about twenty years of age Chrysostom entered a class of catechumens taught by Meletius of Antioch, and after three years of instruction he was baptized by his teacher. Shortly after this Chrysostom was ordained by Meletius to be a reader in the Church.

This was evidently the turning point in his life which led up to his career as the great preacher of the Church. He was enthusiastic in his resolution to follow the monastic life. However, his mother passionately besought him not to do so as long as she lived. Of her appeal he says: "My foremost help indeed was the grace from above; but it was no small consolation to me, under those terrible trials to look continually on thy face and to preserve in thee a living image of him who had gone, an image indeed which was a fairly exact likeness.....When, then, you shall have committed my body to the ground, and mingled my bones with thy father's, embark for a long voyage, and set sail on any sea thou wilt; then there will be no one to hinder thee; but as long as my life lasts, be content to live with me.....For couldst thou say that ten thousand loved thee, yet no one will afford thee the enjoyment of so much liberty, seeing there is no one who is equally anxious for thy welfare." (The Fathers, 34). Chrysostom finally yielded to the pleading of his mother. At home he lived as much as possible the life of a monk. He devoted most of his time in the study of God's Word, and in prayer for strength to fight the temptation.

He ate very little and very seldom spoke a word to any one except his mother.

Some time after this several episcopates became vacant in Syria and Chrysostom and Basil were selected as suitable candidates for the office. However, when the committee came to take them for ordination, Chrysostom hid himself, and Basil thinking he had yielded to the entreaties of the committee, submitted himself and was ordained to the episcopacy. When Basil discovered the pious fraud of his friend he was angry with him, but Chrysostom rejoiced that the plan had worked successfully. He considered Basil more competent than he for the duties of the office. When he escaped from the election he wrote his ex-

cellent work "On the Priesthood," in which he shows he was justified by pious fraud in escaping from the office. He also shows the importance of the office and that it is the highest of all offices. He lays great stress on preaching for he says: "Thou seest my excellent friend, that the man who is powerful in preaching has peculiar need of greater study than others; and besides study of forbearance also greater than what is needed by all those whom I have already mentioned." (On The Priesthood, p. 72).

Some time after the death of his noble mother, Chrysostom left Antioch and went to the monastic community in the mountains south of Antioch. There the life was simple. Their food was frugal. There was time for study, praying, reading of God's Word and contemplation. They were free from anxiety and care. In this simplicity Chrysostom spent six years in careful study, previously, at Antioch in his monastic work at home. Diodorus had taught him in the scriptures. He was strongly opposed to any ascetic who contemplated upon the evil things of life. He favored asceticism in order that each individual might develop a pure character in seclusion, away from the corruption of evil cities. It was during this time that he wrote much in favor of the ascetic life. In 373 the Emperor Valens passed a decree declaring that all monks were to perform their duties as regular citizens. The result was that a persecution broke out. However, the persecution and the obedience to the decree was not universal as Chrysostom and the monastic community were undisturbed. Chrysostom heard of the persecution and he wrote three books against those who opposed monasticism.

About 381, Chrysostom returned to Antioch probably weakened in health because of excessive self-mortification. He was ordained deacon during the same year by Bishop Meletius. He was thoroughly prepared for the task as he had spent years in careful study and preparation. His duty as deacon then was to administer to the sick and the needy of the city, to assist in the liturgical portion of the service, to baptize very frequently and with the special permission of the bishop, to preach.

His first work as preacher began in the rich and populous city of Antioch, which had a population at this time of about 200,000 and probably one-half of this number were Christians. The

people prided themselves of their great city and it took rank with the cities of Rome, Alexandria and Constantinople. The leisure class, which was exceedingly numerous, devoted their time to pleasure, in attending the theatre, and circus.

Chrysostom was ordained a priest in 386 by Bishop Flavian. He preached very acceptably his inaugural sermon before the bishop in the cathedral. He now entered upon a career of great power as the greatest preacher in Antioch.

For almost one hundred years the Antiochian Church had been a storm center of heresy. Schisms had been caused by the Arian and Sabellian controversies. Meletius, the orthodox bishop, was banished several times and recalled. He died at Constantinople in 381, when the council was being held there, and he was president of the proceedings. He was buried with great ceremony at Antioch by the side of Babylos the martyr. Flavian succeeded to the bishopric of Antioch. Chrysostom's fame as a preacher spread rapidly far and wide. During his first year he preached eloquent sermons against the Arians and devoutly upheld the true divinity of Christ. He preached a series of discourses to the Jews and specially showed that Christ was the Savior of all men, and that his coming was the fulfillment of the prophecies of the Old Testament. To the Pagans also he fully demonstrated in his sermons that Christ had given true religion to the world, i. e., Christianity, and that he was the true Son of God.

Chrysostom preached regularly every Sunday and often during Lent he preached every day. He was fearless in his preaching. He attacked unmercilessly idleness, theatre going, attendance at the circus, the immodesty of the women, and the immoral living of the city.

His oratorical power had great effect upon his hearers, and crowds came to the church to hear him preach. His preaching was made even more powerful, and effective by his noble living and example. He conquered the temptations and vices to which many of the clergy succumbed.

In 387 an insurrection broke out in Antioch in revolt against a system of heavy taxation which the Emperor Theodorus had inaugurated in the interest of his large standing army. The citizens had held indignation meetings, but the tribute decree

went into effect by official proclamation. The crowds after hearing the decree rushed to Flavian's residence in order to have him intercede with the Emperor, but he was absent. They returned to the governor's palace and after bursting into the council chamber they found the governor had escaped. However to avenge their fury they tore down the statues of the imperial family and dashed them to pieces, and scattered the fragments in the streets. They rushed from the palace and set fire to some of the government buildings and were continuing their rioting when they were quelled and scattered by the governor and the city troops.

When the citizens realized what they had done remorse filled their hearts for they knew the Emperor would deal harshly with them. They resolved to send their aged and beloved Bishop Flavian on a mission of mercy to Constantinople to seek the Emperor's forgiveness. The bishop was gone several months and was successful in securing the pardon for the city. However, in order to allay public anxiety, Chrysostom day after day preached eloquent sermons to large crowds of people. He encouraged, instructed, and warned them. He attacked their vices and sins and urged them to repent. The result was the crowds increased, large numbers repented and hundreds of pagans joined the Church through the power of his preaching. So forcible was it at times that it brought forth applause and such action he immediately rebuked. Thus through his preaching and pastoral work at this time the greatest good was accomplished for the Church.

Chrysostom broke down under the great nervous strain he was working, but as soon as he was well enough he was preaching again with force and power and urging those who partook in the festivals on Saint's Day to do so moderately, and temperately. Thus he continued his grand work in Antioch until 398, covering a period of about twenty years in his native city where he was loved and almost worshipped, when he was elected archbishop of Constantinople.

Upon the death of Nectarius the archbishopric of Constantinople became vacant. Many prominent candidates used legitimate and illegitimate means to gain the coveted office. However, at the suggestion of Eutropius, the prime minister of the

Emperor Arcadius, Chrysostom, without any knowledge on his part, for he had not been a candidate for the position, was selected.

It was with difficulty that they got him away from his beloved city, Antioch, and the Emperor knew how popular the great preacher was.

Finally through strategy Chrysostom was seized at a martyr's chapel outside of Antioch by special government officials and placed in a chariot and hurried from one station to another unto Constantinople. Much was the chagrin when the quarreling candidates learned the purpose of Chrysostom's arrival and his election to the coveted office. At first Chrysostom demurred at his selection putting forth his unfitness for the office. But the people of the city were filled with joy, that the eloquent preacher was to be their archbishop. No doubt Chrysostom felt that it was his duty to serve his Christ in Constantinople and he was ordained by Theophilus with great solemnity and in the presence of a large assemblage on February 26, 398. His first discourse delivered to this great audience was given with his usual power and created a favorable impression.

"Of Constantinople, it has been written that it was built by Constantine the Great in 330, on the site of Byzantium, assumed as the eastern capital of the Roman Empire, the first position among the Episcopal sees of the East, and became the center of court theology, court intrigues, and theological controversies. The second or ecumenical council, which was held there in 381, under Theodorus the Great, the last Roman Emperor worthy of the name, decided the victory of Nicene orthodoxy over the Arian heresy, and gave the bishop of Constantinople a primacy of honor, next in rank to the bishop of old Rome—a position which was afterwards confirmed by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, but disputed by Pope Leo and his successors." (The Fathers, IX).

Chrysostom at once began a series of reform against the aristocracy and the clergy. At first his eloquent sermons won the admiration of the Emperor Arcadius and his immoral wife Eudoxia, whom Chrysostom afterwards publicly rebuked from his pulpit.

He denounced in powerful language the immorality, vices and

luxuriant dress of the court and clergy. He disciplined his immoral clergy and instituted strict reforms and compelled them to be enforced.

He visited the poor and needy and preached on the blessedness of alms giving. He also visited the Goths in Constantinople and it is said preached to them occasionally. He was interested in missionary activity and sent out missionaries to many tribes along the Danube.

A few years later he became involved in an Origenistic contention with Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria. Theophilus condemned the writings of Origen and also persecuted the Origenistic monks. Several of them fled to Constantinople and Chrysostom protected them and interceded for them with Theophilus. He replied in a sneering manner that Chrysostom had no authority with the affairs of his diocese.

The contention reached a crisis. Theophilus was jealous of Chrysostom's power and hoping to do him injury came to Constantinople. There he was helped by the Empress and jealous clergy.

He called a private council of his own choosing in a suburb of Chalcedon known as the Synod of the Oak, which ordered the banishment of Chrysostom. The charges were false. Chrysostom refused to appear before his unlawful council and said he was willing to be tried before a General Council. This was denied him. The people were highly indignant when they heard of the sentence. However, Chrysostom willingly submitted to the council's demands so that no riot would be raised, and in the night they "put him on board a ship destined for Hibern at the mouth of Pontus."

When the people learned of their beloved preacher's departure they thronged about the imperial palace and loudly demanded his restoration. During the night the entire city was agitated by an earthquake. Eudoxia, the wicked Empress, thought it was a divine visitation. The Empress was terribly terrified and sent messengers bearing a humble letter to Chrysostom, beseeching him to return at once.

The cry of the people was, "As well want the sun from the sky as want Chrysostom from our city," but their sorrow was turned to joy when they learned that he was to return. The

triumph of Theophilus and his immoral associates was short-lived. Thousands of people went forth to meet him, some in boats and others crowded on the shores to await his coming. The apologies of the Emperor and Empress and his enemies were indeed abject. The moment the beloved preacher set foot on shore the people bore him in triumph to the cathedral, and carrying him to the pulpit, called for an address. He made a short, but eloquent address, thanking them for their faithfulness to him as their shepherd.

Theophilus found that he had fallen into a trap of his own making and during the excitement of rejoicing he quietly sailed away to his diocese at Alexandria.

For a time Chrysostom and the court were on the best fraternal terms but in the end the struggle broke out again and the heroic preacher was exiled forever.

Eudoxia besides being a wicked and passionate woman was also ambitious that public adoration should be paid her. Consequently a silver statue of her was placed before the cathedral of St. Sophia and was dedicated in September, 403, amid dancing and immodest festivities. Chrysostom vehemently denounced the queen, the courtiers, and all those who took part in it as unchristian. He is reported to have compared Eudoxia with Herodias and said, "Again Herodias is raging, again she is dancing, again she demands the head of John on a platter."

The queen demanded his immediate removal and exile. His enemies at once started to renew their efforts and also guided and advised by Theophilus from Alexandria. Undaunted Chrysostom continued to preach fearlessly and refused to leave the cathedral. The people besought Arcadius and Eudoxia to spare their beloved pastor, but to no avail. On the night, Easter Eve (404, A. D.), when Chrysostom was about to baptize the female catecumens, the imperial guard broke into the cathedral, seized Chrysostom, scattered and insulted the people, chased the priests through the streets and profaned the elements. This action produced such a tumult throughout the city that although Chrysostom suffered insults at the hands of the soldiers, he was permitted to remain in the episcopal palace several weeks, virtually a prisoner. Several attempts had been made to assassinate him, and his faithful people were so deeply incensed at such

action that they guarded the palace to see that he suffered no harm.

Finally, in June, 404, an imperial decree was issued which ordered his immediate exile. Chrysostom submitted to it and at once prepared to leave Constantinople immediately. He bade a tender farewell to his faithful bishops, deaconesses and friends and after prayer in the church, he was at once placed under the escort of imperial guards and finally taken to the Asiatic shore.

His beloved people mourned his loss and considerable tumult was caused by his departure. His church and many valuable buildings were destroyed by fire. Many of his friends were persecuted by the soldiers but no trace of incendiaries could be found. Pope Innocent pronounced his condemnation and exile invalid, and illegal, and urged the calling of a *true* General Council, but in vain.

After enduring much suffering and hardship he arrived at Cucusus, his exile mountain home, near Cappadocia and Armenia. From this lonely place he sent letters of counsel to his faithful people. However, the Empress ordered all correspondence to cease, and by another decree ordered him to Pityus, a lonely village near the Euxine. The noble old preacher never lived to reach his destination, but died on the way near Comana, in Pontus, on September 14th, 407. As he was dying he repeated "Glory be to God for all things. Amen." He was buried in a chapel near Comana. Many years later his body was disinterred and brought to Constantinople, and amid impressive ceremonies, was placed in the Cathedral of the Holy Apostles.

As has been observed, Chrysostom was a man of noble character, deep piety, and spirituality and was willing to suffer all things for the sake of the gospel. It is true he had his faults, but they were the faults of his age, and we who live in the twentieth century are not able to pronounce true judgment upon them. However his grand, noble and manly character outshines all his faults whatever they may have been. Of him Gibbon writes: "His character was consecrated by absence and persecution; the faults of his administration were no longer remembered; but every tongue repeats the praise of his genius and virtue."

As has also been observed, St. Chrysostom was a powerful and

eloquent preacher. He had fine classical and scriptural training, keen intellect and power of discernment.

Very many of his sermons have come down to us and seem to present in many instances an extravagance of style, nevertheless his boldness and eloquence accomplished great results for the gospel of Jesus Christ. He was fearless in his presentation of the truth, and was willing to become a martyr of the truth.

Or, as Dr. Dorgan has well said, "Command of language, abundance and fitness of illustration, fine imaginative and descriptive powers—these, too, were his. Add to all this a wonderful knowledge of the Bible and of human nature and of the art of applying the teachings of one to the needs of others, and the splendid equipment of a live and mighty preacher stands confessed. Students of his sermons, and of his life unite in a chorus of well deserved praise of his oratory, but none has said a finer thing of him than his pupil and friend, John Cassian: "He kindled his zeal in the bosom of his Redeemer."

Chambersburg, Pa.

ARTICLE V.

THE INTELLECTUAL VALUE OF NATURAL EVIL.

BY REV. A. E. DEITZ.

The presence of natural evil in the world, of pain, privation, disease and death, presents one of the most difficult problems for the solution of the moral and religious thinker. It may be taken for granted that there is some stern necessity for the presence of such evil in the world, else it would not be here. So far as those natural evils which afflict men are concerned, the Scriptures teach us that they are in some way connected with the presence of sin here. Pain and death among the lower animals may have some other explanation, but pain and death in human experience are presented in the Scriptures as among the consequences of the fall and sin of man.

It was after the fall that God said to the guilty man, "Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return." Gen. 3:17-19.

In accordance with this, St. Paul declares in Rom. 5:12, "By one man sin entered into the world and death by sin." So too, the sinless life of the future is pictured to us as a painless life. "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away." Rev. 21:4. It is sin, then, that in some way must be held responsible for the sufferings and sorrows of men. The old question between pessimism and optimism as to whether or not this is the best possible world, must be restated if we are to give it a true and satisfactory answer. We must rather ask whether or not the world as we know it is the best possible world for a race of sinful men to live in,—and it might be added, for a race of sinful men who are to be redeemed and saved from their sin.

From this standpoint, the problem of natural evil in human experience may not be so difficult and inexplicable after all. Pain and death have great and necessary functions to serve in connection with the sins of men.

The function of natural evil in this sinful world is usually treated from the standpoint of its punitive and corrective or disciplinary value. Under the working of the very laws of nature, sin often brings about its own punishment. The wild, dissolute, immoral life in due time produces inevitable disease and death. The man pays the penalty for his wrong-doing by the things which he suffers. But quite as often the afflictions of men are corrective and disciplinary rather than punitive in their nature and purpose. The greatly suffering Job was not greatly sinful, as his friends maintained. The Scriptures teach that affliction often comes as the chastening of the heavenly Father, who wisely gives his children necessary discipline, "that we might be partakers of his holiness." Heb. 12:10. In the hard school of affliction some of the most precious and valuable lessons are learned and there some of the sweetest and most attractive graces of the Christian character are called out and developed. There, too, men are better fitted and prepared for lives of usefulness and service among their suffering fellow-men. Here is strong justification for the presence of natural evil in human life. It restrains the sinful and worldly tendencies of the heart and makes men better, holier, more Christ-like.

But it is pertinent to inquire whether or not the function of natural evil in relation to sin is exhausted by those punitive and disciplinary elements which we discern therein. These things, indeed, go far toward the solution of the problem. They may be accepted as the most important elements in the solution. Still it is open to us to pursue the investigation further if possible, and to inquire concerning the presence or absence of other elements in the solution. It is possible that natural evil has still other ends to serve for the welfare of our sinful race.

Going back again to the fall and sin of man, with which the introduction of death into the world is closely connected, we may remind ourselves of the fact that natural evil is by no means the only consequence or the most serious consequence of sin. The effect of the fall was two-fold. It introduced pain and death

into the experience of men, but it also introduced certain moral and spiritual consequences which are far more serious and dreadful than merely physical evil. The injury, loss and danger to the soul which are caused by sin are the most woeful and disastrous of all the consequences, which man has brought upon himself by disobedience to the holy laws of God. Here we have infinite harm, peril and loss; spiritual in nature, and eternal in duration unless counteracted by the grace of God.

Now it requires no extended argument to prove that, if men are to be redeemed and saved, these moral and spiritual consequences of sin must somewhere be presented to view and be made to stand out before men in all their sad and awful reality. Men must be taught what sin is, how dangerous it is, what terrible results it produces in the guilty soul both in this life and in that which is to come. This is the necessary preparation for any intelligent appreciation of the means of salvation or for any personal application of those means. Accordingly, in the Scriptures the doctrine of sin and of its moral and spiritual consequences, both now and in the future world, is treated in the most exhaustive manner. Both in the teachings of the Master himself and in those of his disciples, large space is devoted to this subject of the spiritual and eternal ruin of sinful men. This they strive to make very clear and definite in the minds of all.

The method employed in the presentation of this subject is the special point that demands consideration. In the teaching of Jesus and elsewhere in the Scriptures, how is the spiritual and eternal ruin wrought by sin presented to the mind? How is the teaching made clear and forcible and effective? What terms are used and what is the origin of these terms? Anyone reasonably familiar with the Scriptures can give the answer to these questions, and when that answer is given the significant fact comes into view that almost invariably the Scriptures teach the sad facts, concerning the spiritual and eternal ruin caused by sin, by means of terms and illustrations drawn from the *realm of natural evil* and especially of those natural evils to which men themselves are subject.

It is a well known psychological fact that all those terms which are used to designate mental phenomena were originally employed with reference to material objects. Witness such

terms as imagine, conceive, apprehend, etc. Different as mind and matter are, it has nevertheless been possible to take terms used at first with reference to material things and transfer them to a higher realm, and use them for the expression of psychical facts. Only so have men been able to set forth the phenomena of mental life at all. There are no other terms at hand for the purpose in view. In a somewhat similar way, it may be said that while body and soul are essentially different in nature, nevertheless there is sufficient similarity between them to make possible the transfer of terms first employed in a physical sense to the higher realm of spiritual realities. And this holds with reference to the use of natural and physical evils to set forth the injury and ruin of the soul by sin.

Notice some of the terms and illustrations used by the Scriptures in the presentation of this topic. "They that be whole need not a physician but they that are *sick*." Matt. 9:12. "Let them alone; they be *blind* leaders of the *blind*." Matt. 15:14. "The God of this world hath *blinded* the minds of them which believe not." 2 Cor. 4:4. "Because thou sayest, I am rich and increased with goods and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched and miserable and *poor and blind and naked*." Rev. 3:17. "And you hath he quickened who were *dead* in trespasses and sins." Eph. 2:1. "For the wages of sin is *death* but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." Rom. 6:23. "And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second *death*." Rev. 20:14. These are a few familiar instances out of many in the Scriptures in which physical evils are not merely employed as the type and symbol of spiritual facts, but in which the very terms are transferred from the one realm to the other; and sickness, blindness, poverty and death are spoken of not at all in the physical but in the spiritual sense.

Compare with this the teaching of Scripture as to the condition and destiny of sinful men as set forth in such passages as the Parable of the Prodigal Son with its picture of privation; or the Parable of the Marriage of the King's Son with its account of the servant who was cast into outer darkness, where there was weeping and gnashing of teeth; or the various descriptions of hell which declare it to be a place of unquenchable fire. In all

such passages natural evil is used to illustrate and explain the spiritual and eternal consequences of sin.

And now the assertion may safely be made that in the two classes of passages, which we have considered, we have the very heart and essence of all that Scripture has to say on the subject under discussion. These terms and these illustrations drawn from the physical afflictions of men are precisely the terms and the illustrations which most clearly and effectively set forth the spiritual and eternal consequences of sin. These are the terms and illustrations that appeal most strongly to the imagination and most profoundly move the heart. Without these terms and illustrations our knowledge would be imperfect and defective as to the perils and dangers of sin.

Two other classes of passages may be referred to. There are those passages, which employ illustrations drawn from the perils and dangers which beset the lower animals, as, for instance, the Parable of the Lost Sheep; and there are those passages which use illustrations drawn from the realm of inanimate nature, as, for example, the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares. Of these two classes of passages, the first are directly based upon the idea of natural evil, only it is natural evil as it appears in a lower realm than that of human life; and the second class presuppose natural evil for their right understanding and application. The picture of tares burning in the fire, for instance, as a type and symbol of divine judgment upon the ungodly, gets its force and effectiveness from the fact that the mind thinks first of the physical suffering and death which would result in the case of a human being so situated and then transfers the image to the realm of spiritual and eternal things.

Taking in the whole scope of Bible teaching as to the moral and spiritual effects of sin, we may say that aside from the use of such general terms as "punishment," or "the wrath of God," practically all of that teaching is in form drawn from the sphere of natural evil where the very terms and illustrations and symbols to be used have been found. Religious teachers, both inspired and uninspired, have continually turned in this direction to find vivid and expressive symbols. So far true is this that it may be regarded as doubtful if it would be possible to teach these things effectively, were it not for the presence of natural

evil in the world. Here alone have the language and the symbols been found to give clear and definite and striking expression to the ideas that were to be set forth, ideas which as we have seen men must somehow be made to grasp if they are to be redeemed from sin. This intellectual value,—not to say, necessity,—of natural evil is so great that the conclusion is justified that we have here one of the reasons on account of which such evil has come into the world.

Of old, God established certain ceremonies and institutions in the Church which served as the type and shadow of heavenly things, teaching men spiritual truth by means of earthly and material forms. The assertion that in like manner God introduced physical pain and death into this world in order that they might serve as types and shadows of spiritual and eternal things, illustrating the danger and ruin of the soul, is perhaps an assertion that ought to be made with some hesitation; but if the necessity in the case be considered and if it first be granted that there were also other and possibly more immediate ends in view, it may then appear that the assertion referred to is not without ground in sound reason and fact. Certainly God foresaw from the beginning the immense teaching value of natural evil and, therefore, it is reasonable to believe that this was one of the ends he had in view when in his infinite wisdom and love he pronounced upon our sinful race the sentence of suffering and death. In addition to its punitive and remedial or disciplinary functions, natural evil has an intellectual or illustrative function to serve in this sinful world of ours, a function of vast importance and absolute necessity in connection with the redemption of men.

Ponca, Nebraska.

ARTICLE VI.

THESES ON PRESENT DAY LUTHERANISM.

Lutheranus sum; Lutherani nihil a me alienum puto.

BY PROFESSOR F. P. MANHART, M.A., D.D.

FOREWORD.

1. The author's aim is purely irenic. He believes that the divided hosts of Lutheranism may wisely and profitably seek a basis for unity, fraternity and co-operation.

2. Any expressions that may seem harsh are not intended as reflecting on the Christian integrity and sincerity of any individuals or bodies. They represent intellectual opinions and should not be taken as censorious or unfraternal faultings. The author's attitude towards all Lutheran interests, individuals and bodies, is one of ardent fraternal concern and solicitude. Even in many instances where his personal opinions do not coincide with those held by others, he gladly cherishes a hearty admiration of their evident devotion to principle and markedly successful services.

3. The author's pain at the divided state of Lutherans dates from his college days. He then attended a Lutheran general Church body, and heard a divine,—learned and venerable in years—speak of other Lutheran divines also learned and venerable, in terms so harsh that they seemed to chill his blood. He soon learned that other divines, during the days that preceded and followed an unhappy schism which they had created, in the Church, frequently spoke thus of each other. It was his first acquaintance with the rabies theologum.

4. The theses were written in March 1908, though somewhat revised since then. This statement is due because of the similarity of some then written to the following action of the General Synod at Richmond, Ind., in June, 1909, as prepared and offered by Rev. L. S. Keyser, D.D.:

“That, inasmuch as the Augsburg Confession is the original

generic confession of the Lutheran Church, accepted by Luther and his coadjutors, and subscribed to by all Lutheran bodies the world over, we therefore deem it an adequate and sufficient standard of Lutheran doctrine. In making this statement, however, the General Synod in no wise means to imply that she ignores, rejects, repudiates or antagonizes the Secondary Symbols of the Book of Concord, nor forbids any of her members from accepting or teaching all of them, in strict accordance with the Lutheran regulating principle of justifying faith. On the contrary, she holds those symbols in high esteem, regards them as a most valuable body of Lutheran belief, explaining and unfolding the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, and she hereby recommends that they be diligently and faithfully studied by our ministers and laymen."

What was thus recommended by the General Synod in 1909 has been the author's practice as a teacher in S. U. since 1904.

5. Dr. H. K. Carroll's statistics for the Lutheran Church, as given in the *Christian Advocate* in Jan. 1908, named 23 distinct bodies of Lutherans in the United States. His statistics of Lutherans in the United States in the *Advocate* of Jan. 27, 1910, are: Synods 24, ministers 8,421, churches 13,533, and communicants 2,173,047. As Dr. Carroll's statistics are widely and justly accepted by Christians of all denominations, it seemed fair to use his number of different American Lutheran bodies as he gave them in 1908.

THESES.

1.

Lutherans number more than 2,000,000 of communicants, and counting the churched and unchurched, possibly as many as 10,000,000 of baptized, members in the United States, and over 70,000,000 of baptized members in the world.

2.

Lutherans are found under varied conditions, viz:—in free churches and synods, as in the United States; in state churches, as in Scandinavia and Germany; in union churches, as in parts of Germany; and among the diaspora in all parts of the earth.

3.

Lutheranism to-day is the heir and the result by direct historic continuity, of that revival and reformation of Christianity in the sixteenth century of which, under God, Martin Luther was the chief agent.

4.

Lutheranism, by coming into distinctive being in the sixteenth century not as a thing *de novo*, but as a reformation, and by accepting all that is taught in the New Testament and by accepting all that which has manifestly been the work of the Holy Spirit from the days of the Apostles, stands to-day through an unbroken historic continuity as the world's best exhibit of apostolic, primitive and historic Christianity.

5.

Among her priceless inheritances from the Christian centuries are the three ecumenical creeds, the pure hymnody, the liturgies or forms of worship, the entire body of orthodox teaching, and whatever in custom, activity, organization, ethics, and life, has been manifestly developed by the Church through the suggestions and the co-operating presence of the Holy Spirit.

6.

Lutheranism to-day, by reason of its pure doctrine, its exalted piety, its presence in every land of the earth, its predominance in leading countries, its decided numerical lead among Protestant believers, its great and manifold practical activities in education, charities, and mission, and its profound historical significance, is a thing of world-wide providential import and mission.

7.

It is, therefore, a prime duty of every Lutheran to know and to appreciate the work of other Lutherans in the world and, as far as Providence makes it possible for him, to co-operate by prayer, by sympathy, by gifts and by service with that work.

8.

Lutheranism is so extended that it is not confined to, and cannot be defined, in the terms, or limits of, any one existing synod, of any one existing general body, of any one nation, of any one language, or of any one race.

9.

Lutheranism is cosmopolitan; its greatest hymn,—*Ein Feste Burg*—which is also the world's greatest, is sung around the earth in a hundred languages and dialects; its catechism—*Luther's Small Catechism*—which is also the world's best, is used around the world in a hundred languages and dialects.

10.

Though so polyglot in worship and work, Lutheranism always and everywhere retains its own distinctive and precious Christian spirit, life and teaching.

11.

The best Lutheran is one who is at once a synodical, a national and a world or cosmopolitan Lutheran.

12.

Of its relations to other Christian bodies it may be said that, as the first of Protestant Churches in origin, in numbers, in extent, and in power and influence, and scripturalness of doctrine; every other form of Christianity in the world to-day owes its origin to Lutheranism, or is other and better than it would have been but for the Lutheran Church.

13.

The one, and only one, confessional symbol received by Lutherans,—*semper, ubique, ab omnibus*,—always, everywhere, and by all—is the *Augsburg Confession*. Its position among Lutheran confessions and symbols is unique. It never has had, and may never have, another in its class.

14.

"The *Augsburg Confession* affords a clear compact and thorough presentation of the views of Luther in their fundamental features." (Seeberg, *His. of Doc.* Vol. 2, page 344). It therefore presents all that is fundamental to Lutheranism.

15.

As a specific, personal, divine inspiration making him infallible cannot be assumed for Luther when he revived the doctrines stated in the *Augsburg Confession*, or for Melancthon at the times when he gave each separate part of the *Augsburg Confession* the precise form it had when it was presented to the Emperor, Charles V, in 1530; and as such divine illumination as made them infallible cannot be assumed for the Princes when

they signed the Confession, it follows that a subscription to the Confession affirms its doctrine or teaching to be correct and scriptural, but not that its language, arguments, illustrations, or citations are of necessity and in every minute particular infallibly correct.

16.

The acceptance of the teachings of the Augsburg Confession as Melancthon, the signers and Luther understood them, is the acceptance of that Confession.

17.

In the normal Lutheran life and worship, Luther's Small Catechism is used in the instruction of the young, and the liturgical forms employed in worship are those which have been prepared and used by fully recognized Lutherans or are such as harmonize in spirit and teaching with these historic liturgical forms.

18.

Lutheran history since the presentation of the Augsburg Confession in 1530, shows conclusively that its reception was entirely sufficient to make, and identify as Lutheran, an individual, a theological school, a congregation, a synod or other Church body, in the days of Luther and that it has been so ever since.

19.

It thus necessarily follows that the individual, school, congregation, or larger church body that accepts the Augsburg Confession is entitled to full and unqualified recognition as Lutheran by all other Lutheran and Christian individuals, schools, congregations, or church bodies.

20.

Since agreement in essential doctrine and teaching is the essence of Christian unity, the acceptance of the Augsburg Confession is an adequate basis,—whether determined by the salient facts of the Lutheran history or by present day practical standards,—for full fellowship with other Lutherans in the pew, at the altar and in the pulpit.

21.

Since the acceptance of the Augsburg Confession is an adequate basis for Lutheran unity in faith and fellowship in worship, it is also an adequate basis for sympathetic, active and cordial co-operation in all lines of Christian activities for the build-

ing up of the Lutheran Church and the Kingdom of God in the world.

22.

Besides the Augsburg Confession, there are in the Book of Concord the three "general" creeds received from the early Christian Church, and five documents, which like the Confession are of Lutheran origin.

23.

Inasmuch as subscription to the Augsburg Confession carries with it the acceptance of the evangelical teachings of the three "general" creeds of the Early Church, those teachings are a part of the common Lutheran inheritance.

24.

Of the five documents of Lutheran origin other than the Augsburg Confession in the Book of Concord it is to be said,—that they originated in connection with matters of great historic moment; that they have been held along with the Augsburg Confession as confessional by many Lutherans, as individuals and as associated in schools, congregations, and general church bodies; that among the Lutherans who have confessionally held them have been men eminent in theological learning, in reverence for the Holy Scriptures, in piety and godliness and distinguished for their invaluable services to the Lutheran Church and the Kingdom of God.

25.

Inasmuch, therefore, as many Lutherans distinguished for their learning, their piety and their works, have formally and heartily accepted all of these Lutheran symbols, some of whom as confessors having in consequence endured great trials and sufferings, and in view of the valuable doctrinal content and the massive historical importance of these documents to Lutheranism and to Christianity, they should ever be treated with sincere and profound respect by all Lutheran individuals or bodies who formally subscribe the Augsburg Confession alone (the chief of the six Lutheran symbols in the Book of Concord)—and they should be carefully studied in every Lutheran theological school and their teachings should be fully understood by all Lutheran ministers and more intelligent and responsible Lutheran laymen.

26.

There is nothing in the Formula of Concord, or in the other Lutheran symbols of the Book of Concord, that calls for a divisive and schismatic or sectarian and separatistic spirit, with regard to Lutherans who subscribe only to the Augsburg Confession.

27.

If any who confessionally accept these Lutheran symbols exhibit a dogmatic temper and a divisive and sectarian spirit, it is because they have derived them elsewhere.

28.

There are, large and small, twenty-three different and differing bodies or synods of Lutherans in the United States. Each of these bodies is an organization by itself. (H. K. Carroll, New York, *Christian Advocate*, Jan. 1908).

29.

There is among these twenty-three bodies, as a whole, but a small measure of co-operation in the work of education, publication, missions and charities.

30.

Between some of these bodies of American Lutherans there is no fellowship at the altar or in the pulpit, nor are members dismissed in a fraternal way to or received by congregations of synods other than their own.

31.

The rightfulness of the fellowship involved in the fraternal dismissal and reception of members and of fellowship at the altar and in the pulpit with those outside their own synod or body, is vigorously denied by some of these American Lutheran synods.

32.

Some of the American Lutheran bodies subscribe confessionally to the Augsburg Confession, e. g. The General Synod and Norwiegian bodies. Some of the American Lutheran bodies subscribe confessionally to all the symbols in the Book of Concord, e. g., the General Council, the Synodical Conference, et al.

33.

Those American Lutheran bodies which subscribe to the whole

Book of Concord do it in varying terms and with varying degrees of rigidity.

34.

Some Lutheran Synods in America make particular questions, such as membership in certain lodges, Chiliasm, and pulpit and altar fellowship, as well as differing opinions upon the so-called "closed" or "open" questions concerning certain teachings in the symbols of the Book of Concord, justifiable causes of schism.

35.

Some other Lutheran Synods in America hold that while they should testify upon the matters named, either as synods or through individual pastors and members, or by both, yet that they are not questions of such a nature as to justify schism or to demand excommunication for differences of opinion or practice.

36.

Similar conditions concerning confessional subscriptions and disciplining practices are found among Lutherans in other parts of the world.

37.

In view of this lack of unity, fellowship and co-operation among American Lutherans, many within the Lutheran Church, like many millions of Christians who are outside it, look upon the Lutherans in America as selfishly segregated in the twenty-three bodies, each having its own organization and each so cherishing its peculiarities in a separatistic or even a more or less antagonistic attitude toward the others, that they practically constitute twenty-three Lutheran denominations in America, each of which has so much of the spirit of sect that its own peculiarities are more to it than the interests, the work, and the unity and fellowship of the whole.

38.

In the judgment of many within and without the Lutheran Church, the Lutherans of America appear to affiliate and group on the following principles: Generic Lutheranism, plus certain peculiarities, produce Lutheran body number one. Generic Lutheranism, plus certain other peculiarities, produce Lutheran body number two. And so on, until we have the twenty-three Lutheran denominations or sects in America.

39.

Christendom knows, or can readily know, what generic Lutheranism is. Few persons know or care to know all the types and shades of the peculiarities of the twenty-three American Lutheran bodies.

40.

From the above it is manifest that in America and elsewhere, there are two classes of Lutherans, the generic and the particularistic.

41.

The generic Lutheran accepts confessionally, the Augsburg Confession; nothing more, nothing less. The particularistic Lutheran accepts confessionally the Augsburg Confession and one or more symbols or things in addition.

42.

The generic Lutheran can, and usually does, consistently and fraternally recognize all within the generic or particularistic classes as truly Lutheran.

43.

The generic class is practically one. The particularistic class is legion, for it is in reality many classes.

44.

The particularistic Lutherans may be ranged in two groups:

1. The first group accept for themselves the Augsburg Confession and some additional thing or things, as correct and desirable, but withal they recognize the generic and other particularistic classes as truly Lutherans.

2. The second group accept for themselves the Augsburg Confession and some other particular thing or particular things as right and necessary and refuse to recognize the generic or other particular classes as truly Lutheran.

45.

Each of the many parties constituting the second group of

particularist Lutherans thinks itself to be alone absolutely right, and therefore justified in its exclusiveness.¹

46.

With many intelligent and pious American and European Christians it avails little to be told that union among Lutherans is found in the common acceptance of doctrines rather than in organization. Since various independent, exclusive, and rival and even mutually repellant organizations are maintained and justified, they infer that there is too little unity of faith to induce or justify unity of organization; or, in plain terms, that there are so many Lutheran bodies because in matters of faith there are so many Lutheran sects, all more or less permeated and dominated by a narrow dogmatic temper and a divisive and separatistic spirit.

47.

To the mind of a Lutheran of the generic class, the divided state of Lutherans in America is unscriptural, unnecessary and extremely unfortunate and saddening. He finds the Church of his fathers, the Church of his inmost beliefs and his deepest love, in so divided a state that even to some of her own ministers and to many of her people, as to the masses of intelligent Christians outside of her folds, she is an unaccountable "congeries of minor sects." (Cf. Pres. Schmalk in *Lutheran Review*, Jan. '08, p. 170).

48.

It also seems to some Lutherans of the generic class, as it does to many other Christians, that leading men have sincerely but mistakenly attempted to explain and justify, by what should be adjudged the specious and lame logic of sect and schism, the existence on the same territory of separate bodies sharing the same great inherited doctrines and bearing the same great historic

¹ In holding that when Christians disagree upon any point, even though it be not essential to Christianity or to a great historic system of Christian doctrine and life they should create and maintain separate and exclusive organizations, it is apparently assumed that the normal and rightful state of Christendom is a divided and not united state. The reasoning by which this is justified may be regretfully but fittingly called the logic of sect and schism. The final Bible teachings plainly stated, are, that whatever promotes unity and peace, fraternal fellowship and co-operation among Christian brethren is from Heaven and its Prince of Peace; while whatever promotes division and strife and schismatic separations among Christian brethren is from hell and from Satan, the Prince thereof.

name, yet in a large measure refusing to co-operate in the great and greatly needed work of the Church,—as missions, charities, and education,—refusing to fellowship in pulpit and at the altar, and maintaining a criticizing, polemic and schismatic attitude toward each other.

49.

The hope for better things lies in the firm faith that the whole of Lutheran interests is more and greater and better than a part; and that God has great things for Lutherans to do in America, which can be well and fully done only by a united Lutheranism.

50.

If this hope for better things be justified by manifestly providential facts, the things that have fostered the state of unfraternal separateness must sooner or later, by God's goodly providences, give way to the spirit of loyalty to the highest truth and loyalty to pressing duties, which would be also the spirit that would bring about peace, fraternity, co-operation and Christian unity.

51.

Doubtless the supreme agent in bringing about these things will be Christian love in such a measure that under its genial rays the icy walls of the sincerely but mistakenly supposed logical and confessional necessities that separate the Lutherans in America will melt into life-giving and fructifying waters, the streams whereof will make glad and powerful the Church of the fathers and sons of Lutheranism, and of her one Lord,—the Christ of God.

52.

Germany before the organization of the present empire, and Lutheranism to-day in the United States, afford an interesting historical parallel.

53.

Germany, when divided into her many distinctive, competing, and, in part, petty political portions with their provincial jealousies and rivalries, was so lacking in national spirit, so deficient in proper consciousness of racial and national power, worth and dignity, as, in spite many noble characteristics, to have much of the spirit of the abject among the nations. In this divided and weakened state it had neither a proper self-respect nor the

full respect and honor of the world. It lived, in too large part, by feeding on its own heart. It often suffered because rival parts hindered, injured, and weakened each other and the whole, to the profit and joy, and withal the contempt, of hostile rival nations that were stronger because more united.

54.

Now that her parts are federated in an empire, Germany is fully conscious of her great strength, power, dignity, and worth. By all men, she is ranked, in all the characteristics that make a nation truly great, among the most advanced nations of the earth. A divided Germany was a potential giant in chains. A united Germany is a free, youthful and powerful giant rapidly approaching a maturity of massive power.

55.

Lutheranism in the United States is a thing of fragments, even if not a "congeries of minor sects," and lacks the conscious strength, dignity and worth, that she would have if her twenty-three separate bodies, were united or federated in one great body, where all could co-operate in those larger things for the kingdom which are so necessary for her progress and best welfare, but which cannot possibly be done by twenty-three synods, separate, non co-operating, and in part, jealous and mutually repellant rivals, and thus necessarily abjectly conscious of all the weaknesses that are inevitable where separate and divisive fragments wrongly occupy the place of a united, unified and great whole.

56.

The parts of Germany were welded into a great nation, under Divine Providence, by Bismarck, Emperor William, Moltke, and others. The instrumentalities used were the strengthening of the national consciousness and spirit and the drastic methods fittingly termed "Blood and Iron."

57.

The parts of Lutheranism in the United States can be brought into a unified whole by the unhindered and welcomed work of the Holy Spirit in answer to Christ's prayer for the unity of His followers, John 17:21.

58.

The instrumentalities used will so strengthen the Christian consciousness and spirit, and so promote fraternity, and so

weaken the dogmatic temper and divisive spirit that separation, with its unlovely aspect of sect and schism, will give way to union, or to federation with the reality of unity in spirit, labor and doctrine.

59.

If the rule, "Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only and Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only," be adopted by any Lutheran body its rightful application cannot exclude any one who is a Lutheran minister or Lutheran communicant of either the generic or particularistic class.

60.

The definition of a Lutheran Church or congregation, of the Church's unity, or of the fraternal relations and practical co-operation that may justly and rightly be maintained between Lutheran Christians, cannot be narrower than the teachings and principles of the Augsburg Confession in Arts. 7 and 8, save as those teachings and principles are superseded by divisive and separatistic ones which are mistakenly supposed to be required by loyalty to the Confession and the Scriptures.

61.

The logic that attempts the justification of practices narrower, and less fraternal than those called for by Arts. 7 and 8 of the Augsburg Confession, is not the logic of the New Testament, the Augsburg Confession, the Concordia, or of Lutheran history, or of generic Lutheranism, but is the logic which mistakenly and sincerely undertakes to preserve in their integrity these invaluable things by methods and a spirit foreign to them.

62.

The idea that Christian unity consists in agreement in doctrine and not in a single organization or in federated or co-operative work, is over-emphasized by many Lutherans. A unity that is merely one of intellectual agreement without actual fraternity and co-operative work, may be practically, as it is apparently, nothing but sect and schism.

63.

It is the province of Lutheran theology to develop as completely as possible, remembering that not nearly all that has high value in Luther's writings, and much less that all that has high value in the sacred Scriptures, is found in the confessions

of the Lutheran Church or the tomes of her great dogmaticians.

64.

The English language, far more than is any other, is best adapted to be the means of inter-communication between Lutherans in all parts of the world.

65.

This present and future use may be made of the English language because it is now, and is increasingly, the most widely used of languages, and because it is the language of education in the United States, and of general or higher education in the great Lutheran missionary parts of the world controlled by Great Britain, and is an essential part of the higher education of Lutheran Germany and Scandinavia, and withal of Latin America and other parts of the world.

66.

It follows, both for the present and future interests of Lutheranism in the world, that it is of the highest importance to have a Lutheran literature in the English language that will meet all needs of the Christian individual and home, as well as those of all fields of missionary, benevolent and educational activity.

67.

As there are eleven Lutheran publishing houses in America, several of which are quite strong financially, it would be possible by co-operation with each other and with Lutheran authors and their publishers in our and other lands, to soon provide adequately this needed Lutheran literature in the English language.

68.

A more consistent development of Lutheranism may be expected in America; in Australia and elsewhere; than has been brought about in the Lutheran lands of Europe, since in Germany and in Scandinavia its life and development have been hampered by a union of Church and State which has resulted in more or less of Caesaro-Papacy, while in America and wherever Church and State are free, separate and independent, though mutually helpful, the Church can best and most fully develop its principles and inner life and those outer activities and methods that are their most consistent and beneficent expression.

69.

Lutheranism to-day needs more of the freedom and breadth

concerning the Church of Christ, shown by Luther when he was in his prophet-like moods, and less of the narrower methods of Melanchthon, when as a professional theologian he, like Calvin, laid the foundations for the dogmatic rigidity and rationalizing formalism of the scholastic period of Protestant theology.

70.

As the Apostle Paul's birthright of Roman citizenship and extended missionary labors, led him to have and to realize imperialistic ideas about the Church of Christ, so the providential calling of Lutheranism, its presence in large numbers in great Christian countries, its presence in some, even considerable, numbers, in all other parts of the world and the present providential opportunities for the extension of the Church, should lead the Lutheran Church to conceive, and to attempt the realization of, imperialistic ideals and plans, and correspondingly large and effective co-operative agencies, organizations and labors.

71.

Do patent facts indicate that the judgment of Heaven has been given? If so, dogmatic temper and theories and withal divisive separatistic and individualistic conditions should not resist it. Theories and customs should not stand in the way of facts, when once the mandate of Heaven has been given.

72.

The unity of Lutheranism in the world would be promoted by such things as the following:

1. The full and frank fraternal recognition of all Lutherans of whatever synod, language, nation or race, by all other Lutherans.
2. The earnest effort of Lutherans in all lands to understand their Lutheran brethren, their history, their present position, and their purposes in the extension of the Kingdom of God.
3. The practical co-operation of Lutherans in all lands, as far as Providence makes it possible, in all their work for Christ, for His Church and for the Kingdom of God in the world.
4. An international school of theology, where with other essentials in the library, the general equipment, and the teaching staff, all Lutheran lands, all Lutheran history and all Lutheran

interests and activities, would be represented. In other words: An international clearing house of *Lutheranistics*.

5. Unless satisfactory changes can be secured, the establishment and maintenance of schools, for the training of ministers and other church workers, that will be faithful and loyal to Lutheran doctrines, Lutheran history and Lutheran interests, in all lands where the State now exercises such control over institutions as limits or makes difficult or impossible faithfulness and loyalty to Lutheranism.

6. The encouragement in Lutheran educational institutions throughout the world of inter-institutional conferences among students and teachers in the interests of the study of Lutheran history, and the vastly important work in heathen missions, among the diaspora and the inner missions of Christian lands.

7. The development of a young people's society, like the Luther League, until it is as universal as Lutheranism.

8. The active and aggressive assertion by Lutheran laymen all around the world of their conviction that the conditions which keep the parts of Lutheranism in any country and in the world as distinct bodies separate in labor and fellowship from others, though in part the results of racial and historical causes are mainly the results of unduly narrow and mistaken judgments on the part of some theologians and leaders who are over-zealous for their party shibboleths; and that to perpetuate them would be unwise, needless, hurtful and scandalous. As Lutheranism was preserved in the days of rationalism largely by the true piety of Lutheran laymen in their homes, so the Christian union that will remove the dire reproach of a general lack of unity, may proceed largely from intelligent, pious and practical laymen who devoutly pray for the peace of Zion and earnestly and practically labor for Christ and His Church.

9. The development everywhere—and especially where Lutheran churches are more or less controlled by and dependent upon the State—of self-help and self-government through its church bodies, institutions and agencies,—of means and methods for carrying on in the most effective way all lines of activities for the preaching of the Gospel and for education and for the vast work of inner and foreign missions.

10. The publication of a periodical in the English language with a title such as "The Lutheran Commonwealth," whose ac-

counts of Christian life, work and thought would be as world-wide as Lutheranism.

11. Regular meetings of Lutherans within certain countries or parts of countries, and the regular meeting of a general conference or world's congress of Lutherans, in cities of the various lands where Lutherans are found, and where Lutheran scholars and workers could meet and discuss all of their theoretical interests and practical activities, and where, withal they would fraternally unite in the historic and hallowed forms of Lutheran worship, thus nourishing and exhibiting their fellowship in the faith of the saints, confessors and martyrs of the Lutheran Church.

The basis of full membership in such district and general conferences or congresses might be: the confessional acceptance of the Augsburg Confession, and, possibly, as further requirements, the use of Luther's Small Catechism in the instruction of the young, and a general conformity in worship and work with Lutheran customs and usages. Upon this adequate and right basis, no generic or particularist Lutheran would be excluded.

12. The firm belief that God does not want the great Lutheran Church to be forever a thing of fragments rather than a united, harmonious, powerful, aggressive and leading force in winning the world for the kingdom of His Christ.

13. A yearly day of prayer, e. g., Ash Wednesday, for the unity of all Lutherans in the world, and for the ultimate unity of all Christians.

14. The year of 1917—the 400th anniversary of the Reformation—might be kept before Lutherans as a fitting objective point, for beginning or even the realization in some promising measure, of federating and co-operative movements of world-wide significance to Lutheranism and to the Christian world.

PRAYER.

O God, who gatherest them who are scattered, of Thy tender mercy grant the prayer of thy Son, that thy divided people may be one as Thou and He are one, that they having the grace of unity and all their schisms being healed by Thy Holy Spirit, may worthily serve and glorify Thee in Thy Church and Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pa.

ARTICLE VII.

CHRIST, THE WORLD'S CHIEF NEED.

BY HONORABLE HENRY W. HARTER, A.M.

Nearly two thousand years ago the most wonderful Child of history was born in Bethlehem of Judea; He was wrapped in swaddling clothes and laid in a manger; He was reared in an humble, but pious home; He was baptized by John in the Jordan and approved of God; He went about doing good; He spake as man never spake and performed the then miracle of miracles. He preached the Gospel to the poor; He died the just for the unjust; He arose again from the dead and ascended into heaven, where He sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty. He was the God Man; the long promised Messiah; the Saviour of Mankind; the Child of the Ages; the Prince of Peace.

When Christ came to the world it had need of Him, and the greatest need of the world to-day, is the living Christ in the hearts of men.

Formerly unbelief denied the existence of God, but the argument from design settled that question. For the human mind can no more think of a world full of design without thinking of its great Architect and Designer, than it can think of a watch without thinking of the watchmaker; of a pair of spectacles, without thinking of the optician, or of a locomotive, without thinking of the engineer who designed and the mechanic who built it. It then denied the historical Christ, but Paley and the able apologists who have succeeded him, have settled that question and have made it as certain that Christ lived in Judea at the time stated in the Scriptures, as that Alexander crossed the Hellespont or that Caesar crossed the Rubicon.

Skepticism denies the dual nature of Christ, and it says: "Explain to me how the human and the divine were united in the person of Christ and I will believe." There are unexplained mysteries in religion, just as there are unexplained mysteries in the natural world. When man can explain how the spiritual and the physical are united in his own person, it will be time

for skepticism to demand that Christianity shall explain how the human and the divine were united in the person of Christ. Skepticism also says: "I do not believe the doctrine of miracles. I do not believe a miracle can be performed in a world which is governed by fixed and uniform laws." It does not seem unreasonable to me to believe that He, Who created the universe; Who made the world; Who raised the mountains and digged the seas; Who set the planets in space and gave them their orbits, and Who gave nature her laws, can whenever He desires in the furtherance of His benignant purposes, suspend, modify, abrogate, or abolish these laws of His own making. It says: "The age of miracles is past. Show me a miracle and I will believe." When we consider the origin, preservation, history, growth, development and spirit of the Christian Church, it seems to me that it is the omnipresent and ever-continuing miracle of the centuries. When Paul heard the Macedonian call and, not being disobedient to the heavenly vision, crossed from Asia into Europe to preach the Gospel, he and his companions were the only Christians west of the Bosphorus, and there were probably not to exceed 10,000 Christians at that time in the whole world. To-day nearly one-half of the world is Christian, and that means that there are now more than half a billion Christian believers in the world. This wonderful conquest of the world by Christianity was accomplished "not by might nor by power, but by His spirit." It was accomplished not by the sword, but by what has been called "the foolishness of preaching." What greater miracle than this could be demanded? It is not simply a miracle, but it is also a fulfillment of the prophecy of Christ Himself: "And greater works than these shall ye do, because I go to the Father." Modern skepticism denies the simple truths of the Gospel, and it accepts without question the almost incredible claims of science; it denies the Incarnation, but it believes without doubt that this universe is so vast that there are fixed stars in it, so remote from the earth, that if a ray of light had started towards the earth on the day upon which Christ was born, traveling at the rate of 180,000 miles a second, it would not yet have reached the earth. Can inconsistency be more inconsistent than that? The trouble with agnosticism is that it "strains at a gnat and swallows a camel." It has Moses and the Prophets, Christ

and the Christian Church, and if it will not believe these, it will not believe though one rose from the dead.

Religion is the pillar and ground of the State. It is not only its foundation, but it is its chief support. The well-known views of Washington on this subject, are familiar to us all, and we all know that Lincoln relied upon Divine Providence to guide the Ship of State over the stormy seas of rebellion into the haven of peace.

Wall Street is the busiest weather bureau of this country. It has never been suspected of an excess of piety, nor has it been suspected of being particularly partial to religion; therefore, any opinion coming from this source upon the subject of religion, merits the distinction of being at least impartial and unbiased. I commend to your serious consideration, the following extract taken from the "Wall Street Journal": "What America needs more than railway extension and western irrigation, and a low tariff, and a bigger wheat crop, and a merchant marine and a new navy, is a revival of piety, the kind mother and father used to have—piety that counted it good business to stop for daily family prayers before breakfast, right in the middle of the harvest; that quit work a half hour earlier Thursday night, so as to get the chores done and go to prayer meeting; that borrowed money to pay the preacher's salary, and prayed fervently in secret for the salvation of the rich man who looked with scorn on such unbusinesslike behavior. That's what we need now to clean this country of the filth and graft, and of greed, petty and big; of worship of fine houses and big I-ams, and high office, and grand social functions. What is this thing which we are worshipping, but a vain repetition of what decayed nations fell down and worshipped just before their light went out? Read the history of Rome in decay and you'll find luxury there that could lay a big dollar over our little doughnut that looks large to us. Great wealth never made a nation substantial nor honorable. There is nothing on earth that looks good, that is so dangerous for a man or a nation to handle, as quick, easy, big money. If you do resist its deadly influence, the chances are that it will get your son. It takes greater and finer heroism to dare to be poor in America than to charge an earthworks in Manchuria." The man who wrote that editorial knew his business, or in the phrase of

the day, "he was on to his job." He was a wise business man, a social philosopher and a statesman, although he may have no reputation of that kind, nor pose as such.

Christianity is the only social panacea. The more universal the prevalence of its principles; the more men and women conform their lives to its standard, the more justice and peace there will be in the world.

In these last days, we hear a good deal about Christian unity. The world seems to think the Christian Church is a mob warring denominations. Nothing can be farther from the truth, for beneath the denominational differences, there is a deep, spiritual unity pervading the Christian Church. There is a spirit of tolerance, a spirit of co-operation, a spirit of fraternity and a unity of purpose in the Christian Church to-day, which was wholly unknown to former generations. It seems to me the entire Christian Church can stand on one spiritual platform, just as Catholics and Protestants are to-day co-operating in promoting the good work of the Young Men's Christian Association in many cities. It seems to me that the Christian Church can unite in the declaration: "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity;" that it can unite in that wonderful saying of Jesus which Luther called the "Little Gospel": "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him, might not perish, but have everlasting life," and in St. Paul's exalted ascription of praise to Almighty God, and now to the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, the only wise God be all honor and glory forever and ever.

Canton, Ohio.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE CENSOR AS A FACTOR IN CIVILIZATION.*

BY PROFESSOR V. G. A. TRESSLER, PH.D., D.D.

Classifying the scope of condemned writings we are almost startled at its extent. Just to give an idea of its range, we may list Patristic writings and Ancient classics, Jewish literature, Histories—ecclesiastical and secular, Philosophical writings, works on Jurisprudence, Law and Medicine, Natural Science, Books on Magic and Astrology, Poems, Text-books, Periodicals and (mark you) Cyclopedias, Protestant and Catholic Theological writings, Treatises on Communism and Socialism, Magnetism and Spiritualism—they all have suffered at, or perhaps rather been glorified by, the hands of the censors of things.

Neither are the pilloried authors marked by geographical lines. They are quite international; Italian and Dane, Greek and Celt, Scotchman and Russian, German and Indian, English and Portugese, Swiss and Belgian, Spanish and Hollander—elsewhere not often in a bon comradere—are here in the same form, alike indicated by the Grand Jury of the censors of things.

Savants and soldiers, poets and palmists, doctors and dilltantees, peers and paleontologists, rabbis and roysterers, alchemists and astronomers, publishers, preachers, priests and professors are the inclusive catch in the net of the vigilant censor.

*Read before the Literary Club of Springfield, Ohio, November, 1909.

Literature:—Owing to the purpose notes of specific reference are rarely given severally. The following literature is to be consulted by students of the phenomena of the Index.

H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 1887, 3 Vols.

G. H. Putnam, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome*, 2 Vols., 1906.

Nielsen's *History of the Papacy*, London, 1906.

R. Bellarmin, 1688, *de Controversiis Fideis*.

Chas. De Joh sur la literature, Paris, 84.

Köstlin, *The Life of Luther*, 1886.

Luther Works, Erlangen Edition.

Milton, *Areopagitica*.

J. Stuart Mill, *Freedom of the Press*.

Villers, *The Influence of Luther*.

Hauck, *Real Encyclopedie*.

The custom of burning heretical writings was a common one. Argus eyed, the censor has swept the earth in his vision, following his quarry with the restless zeal of a North Pole explorer and in the end bagging his game as surely and deftly as our present Nimrod in the South African jungles.

The custom of burning heretical writings was a common one during the Middle Ages and had been for centuries. Libraries in their entirety were sacrificed to the Moloch of flame, 6,000 volumes having been destroyed by Torquemada at Salamanca in 1490, alleging sorcery¹. The universities, bishops and inquisitors alike and in turn exercised this privilege. It will be readily seen that when manuscripts alone were the sole depositories of learning it was no difficult matter to extinguish the life of a book. But with printing all this was changed, and as a consequence extraordinary efforts are initiated looking towards book control or book extinction.

The restrictive measures, though one in purpose, looking to the blocking of the forms of the printing presses, have been most varied in their method and character. At first special edicts and mandates were issued locally, now by general councils, again by city or State officials or Church ecclesiastics. Later, as literature grew and printing became a power, censorship to be effective needed to be centralized and institutionalized. This was brought about in 1559, when the papal government took under its authority the control of literature, with the issuing by Paul IV of the "Index of Prohibited Authors and Books." Paul's Index has since been followed by 42 other papal Indexes, closing with that of Leo XIII in 1900. These, together with those of States and Protestant bodies, have striven with might and main, often with virulence and always with aggressiveness, to prevent the inoculation of civilization with a virus which they believed to be a deadly poison. It was, a sort of mental "Pure Food Law!"

The "Apostolic Constitutions" purporting to have been written by Clement of Rome at the dictation of the Apostles, forbids Christians to read any book of the Gentiles, saying, "the Scriptures should suffice for the believer." At once, then, prohibi-

¹ Llorenti, 1, quoted in Lea.

tions of books begin. A Synod of Bishops at Ephesus about 150 forbade the reading of "the Acts of Paul"—a historical romance. Constantine put the death penalty on readers of Porphyry's books (in 325). Scores of condemnatory proceedings follow. In 1276 under Pope John XXI there is a condemnation of 219 propositions—"it being explained mainly that though they were true philosophically, they were false when tested by the doctrines of the Church." Pope Pius II in 1463, willing to take his own medicine in issuing a bull against literature, states "in case you find among my own early writings any that are unsound they should be condemned"—and sure enough his name appears on the condemned list.

In 1521 with the edict of Worms, Church and State worked together against the freedom of the press on the double ground that the freedom involved heresy in the Church and treason to the State. Very early the Italian cities took cognizance of their books. They were proud of them—and wanted the best—hence a rigid censorship which in this case meant something similar to a fine proof-reader and literary editor of a to-day's magazine. The Council of Ten in 1515, in this way establishes a general censorship for the classics in these words:—

"In all parts of the world and in famous cities not only in Italy but also of barbarous countries, that the honor of the nations may be preserved, it is not allowed to publish works until this shall have been examined by the most literary person available. But in their own cities, so famous and so worthy, no attention has as yet been given to this matter. Whence it comes to pass that the most incorrect editions which appear before the world are those issued from these cities, to the dishonor of Venice." So they give the matter in charge of a fitted person in their judgment and strictly forbid any publications until after sanction under pain of confiscation and heavy fine.

In 1564, at the Council of Trent, the censorship for the first time came under the scrutiny and supervision of an ecumenical ecclesiastical gathering, and the Council is admonished to have control of the printing press, "the operations of which as now uncontrolled tend to pernicious license and injury to the faith of the community and to the anchorites of the Church." The result of prolonged discussion was the publication of ten rules

which to the present have controlling weight in Roman bodies being published in two Indexes of Leo XIII as late as 1896 and 1900.²

In 1851, a decree under Pius IX runs as follows:—

“It has become known to us that either on the ground of malice or wilful disobedience or of ignorance, certain persons fail to give information to the Holy See concerning the undertakings of heretics or concerning the publications of attacks on the Pope, or the distribution of works printed without official permit or the reading, printing or possession of such works. It is hereby ordered that all such delinquents shall incur the penalty of excommunication—It is further ordered that all printers, book-sellers, collectors of customs, janitors, landlords and shop-keepers of every kind shall place copies of this edict in their premises in such manner that it shall be read by all.”³

Again in 1878, Pope Leo declares:—“The typesetters, who in order to prevent themselves from losing their work, put into type the writings of heretics, come into grievous sin.” And this is essentially the case with those who lend themselves to the production of works maintaining or defending heretical doctrines for which works the Pope has ordered the larger communication.

In 1900 Pope Leo issued a second Index which as the latest expression of his Church is noteworthy. It contains the names of about 6,900 works. In the Papal brief we have the following:—“The Roman Pontiffs to whom that great duty was entrusted of feeding the flock of Christ, have all been constant in preserving whole and inviolate the most precious deposit of faith and in nourishing the Christian peoples of the world with the food of sound doctrines. Hence the fervent and constant care continually taken by them that as good grain from tares, so sound and excellent books may be separated from the alloyed, the apochryphal and the hurtful lest thus men by using them incautiously or daringly may injure the integrity of their faith and morals.” In it he says:—“When the inventors in the 15th century of the new art of printing caused a great increase in the numbers of books it was everywhere deemed necessary to take

² Putnam, Vol. I, 181.

³ Putnam, Vol. II, 66.

severe notices of evil writings both to forestall danger and to repair evil already done." So, he continued, "power of crushing the evil was put into the hands of a council who should examine and ban."⁴

Furthermore, we have the constitution of Leo XIII with regard to the censorship of books. Of heretics, he says, "especially dangerous is the lack of moderation in their writings and the influence of these pernicious writings among the people"—adding, "to this end it (the Church) made continued efforts to prohibit men as far as practicable, from the reading of pernicious books." He mentions the care of Roman Pontiffs to "prevent the writings of heretics, a constant menace to the community," condemns "the pestilent books of Abelard, Wycliff and Huss," declares that "later it became more serious, and it was necessary to use more strenuous measures." Leo X and Clement VII positively forbade anyone to read or to possess the books of the Reformers. Then he notes that the "foul collection of dangerous books had increased beyond all bounds," so that "still further action was necessary to meet the evil."

And in continuation, he asserts that "in the rapid development of intellectual activity there is no field of knowledge in which literature is not produced too freely with the result of a daily accumulation of foul and dangerous books." And the development of intellectual activity is the "evil" he takes measures against!

In the Articles of Rules following "the books of apostates, heretics, schismatics and all writers whatever, defending heresy or schism, or in any way attacking the foundations of religion are altogether prohibited" (Rule 2). Moreover, "the books of our Catholics ex-professo treating of religion are prohibited unless they clearly contain nothing contrary to the faith" (3). In Rule 8 all versions of the Holy Bible in any vernacular language made by non-Catholics are prohibited. In 15, "Pictures of our Lord, of Mary, of angels which are not conformable to the sense of the Church are prohibited." Further in Rule 30, no one shall "venture to re-publish books condemned by the Holy See." Rule 43 provides that "no book liable to censorship may

⁴ Putnam, 2-382.

be printed unless it bear at the beginning the name and surname of both the author and publisher together with the place and year of printing and publishing.

Rule 45 insists that "books condemned by the Apostolic See are to be considered as prohibited all over the world and in whatsoever language they may be translated."

Of penalties against transgressors of these rules it is decreed that "all and everyone knowingly reading without authority of the Holy See the books of Apostates and Heretics or books of any author which are by name prohibited by Apostolic letters, also those keeping, printing and in any way defending such works incur by that very fact excommunication reserved in a special manner to the Roman Pontiff."

In this latest decree are comprised, as we have seen, about 7,000 separate works. 131 of these and 82 authors are out of the last decade of the Nineteenth Century, of which, however, only 4 are English and 60 Italian, showing again the censors as most familiar with their own native tongue.

Among the famous authors and works on this tabooed list, just touching here and there, we may note in Theology Albertus Magnus, Book of Common Prayer, Gilbert Burnette, Fenelon, F. D. Maurice, Merle D'Aubigne, Michelet, Pascal, Presseme, Hugo, Grotius, Renan, Stephanus Strauss, many editors of the New Testament.

Of philosophers there are Bentham, Bruno, Augustus Comte, Ralph Cudworth, Descartes, Diderot, Draper, Grotius, Th. Haller, Kant, John Locke, J. S. Mill, Mivar, Saint Simon, Spinoza, Whately.

Of literateurs there are Joseph Addison, Balzac, Dumas, Victor Hugo, Goldsmith, Mandeville, John Milton, Montaigne, Eugene Sue, Montiesquien, Rosseau and Zola.

Of historians we may note Lord Acton, Burnett, Gibbon, Hallam, Merle D'Aubigne.

Of biologists there is Darwin. Shall we add the 20th century censoring of Loisy, the French savant.

Further, "all books," says Rule 1 of the Index, "which were condemned before the year 1600 and which are not recorded in the new Index must be considered as condemned in the same

manner as formerly." This enlarges the list immensely as it includes Galileo, Luther, Calvin and scores of the like sort.

As for instance, in 1536, Paul III excommunicates and anathematizes "all who are followers of the godless and abominable heresies of Martin Luther condemned by Leo X, and all who favor or protect him in any way and all who read or distribute the writings of said Martin." And in 1587 Gregory XIII issues a bull in which he excommunicates all Hussites, Wycliffites, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Huguenots, Anabaptists, Anti-Trinitarians and all heretics of whatever name or sect and their followers and protectors and all those who print, distribute, possess or read the writings of these heretics or any books which attempt to undermine the authority of the Apostolic chair.

Luther, though himself a censor was far more sinned against than sinning in the matter of the Index.

The Louvain faculty in 1519 ordered all Luther's works burned. This was followed in 1520 by the clergy of Cologne, and in 1521 the faculty of Paris issued a condemnatory *super doctrina Lutherana*. Cardinal Wolsey ordered all writings of Luther held by individuals to be handed over to the authorities on pain of excommunication, and the bull of Leo X in excommunicating Luther condemned all his works severally and collectively.

An edict of Queen Mary, of England, in 1557, may be taken as a sample of this early severity. It reads—whereas divers books filled with heresies and sedition and treason, have of late and been daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the seas and some also covertly printed within the realms whereby encouragement is given to disobey lawful princes and governors, the King and Queen for redress hereof, do by this present proclamation, declare and publish to all their subjects that whosoever shall after the proclaiming hereof be found to have any seditious books or finding them do not forthwith burn the same without showing or reading the same to any other person, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a rebel and shall without delay be executed for that offense according to the order of martial law. Capital punishment thus having been inflicted for showing a prohibited book to a neighbor or even its secret possession.

In the catalogue of Leo 1500 works belong to the 17th century,

1,200 to the 18th, 1,300 to the 19th. A number of writers are condemned, however, in toto, their entire output of whatever name being on the censored list of the Roman Church. Such authors whose "opera omnia" have come under the censor during the last century are Eugene Sue, both Dumas, Balzac, David Hume and Zola. Once a thief always a thief seems to have been the censor's motto.

The names of the Reformers do not appear, but according to rule they are necessarily forbidden. Some works, however, have been taken off the list of Leo, as Grotius' work "De juris" and Milton's immortal "Paradise Lost," also the philosophical works of Leibnitz; though the righteousness of reading, as is shown by the constant flux in the works prohibited, has no fixed standard. What is good in Romanic may be accounted a curse in Servic, while Portugese Lisbon may permit to the faithful what Spanish Madrid abhors and proscribes.

But Protestantism too, has at times been rigorous in book suppression.

In Zurich, the State Church of Zwingli ordered both Catholic and Lutheran books of worship to be burned. In Geneva in 1539, the magistrate ordered no book to be printed until it had received license from the authorities. This was in force for a number of years. In Basil we find many instances of the censorship, the very first one of which was under the instigation of no less a man than Erasmus himself. In Würtemberg, 1585, Duke Ludwig forbade the publishing of any works of theology save such as had been passed upon by himself.

The Elector of Saxony prohibited under a penalty of three thousand gulden the printing of Melanchthon's works, and on the other hand, Frederick II of Denmark, forbade preachers the use of the Formula of Concord. The book dealers of Leipzig were forbidden to print or sell anything not having received the approval of the censor. Luther in 1532 calls upon Duke Henry of Mecklenberg, to prevent the printing in the latter's domains of a translation of the gospels by Emser, a Roman priest. So we find after 1550, censorship active in Saxony, Baden, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, as well as Switzerland and Rome.

Even in 1882 in Berlin a State Index was published with a list

of prohibited works. This list was made up of works maintaining the principles of the Social Democrats. And as late as 1903 great excitement was aroused in Germany by the Lex Heinze, under which in three months from October and November, 77 works were condemned. The excitement which this law produced the writer himself observed and it was terrible.

In Holland State censorship ran a like course. We find it from 1581 when the States General of Holland issued an edict prohibiting the reading, printing or possessing of certain books because of their "Papistical Superstitions" to the publishing of the ban on the philosophy of Spinoza read in the Jewish synagogues, and concluding thus:—"We order hereafter that no one shall have communication with Baruch Spinoza either by word of mouth or in writing, that no one render him any service, that no one shall remain under the same roof with or even accost him, that no one shall in any manner have communication with him."

In Denmark censorship of books directed by the State existed from 1597 to 1766. Goethe's *Werter* was among the books condemned.

In Sweden as late as 1667 all book dealers were required to furnish annually to the censor a catalogue of all the works they had in stock.

It may be a surprise to most that, twenty-five years before any index was issued on the Continent of Europe, England published such an order, so that it was necessary to grant special license to Sir Thomas More for the reading of heretical books that he might thereby be enabled to better defend the faith.

In 1564 an instruction was issued to the Bishop of London "to examine all incoming cargoes that pernicious and heretical books be secured and destroyed." Eighteen years later "an act of William proclaimed it felony to write, print, sell, distribute or possess books, rhymes, ballads, letters or writings of any kind which contained matter in any way injurious to the repute of the government.

In 1637 the Star Chamber put out an edict of drastic censorship, prohibiting sale or barter of any books antagonistic to faith or government. Books were censored by committees—one each of works of jurisprudence, history, morals, philosophy science,

poetry and general literature. Books not having secured such approval were forbidden under heavy penalties of fine, imprisonment and even bodily punishment. No printer was to operate more than two presses or to have more than two apprentices. In 1633 Prynne was condemned to the loss of his ears and perpetual imprisonment and to a fine of £6,000 as author of the book "The Players Scourge." The Puritans had books condemned and thereafter burned—among others King James' Book of Sports.

Cromwell condemned among other the great Milton's *Aeropogetica*, which is followed by a long line of book burnings, and deaths of authors and printers; and only in 1869 was freedom of press finally achieved in England.

In all cases the laws of prohibition were State laws or edicts of sovereigns and the offense causing condemnation, while both religious and political, was chiefly the latter.

One sees that in spirit we deal with the time. The idea of preventing by force of law the contaminating influence of poisoned literature was general. It held sway in Church and Court. Neither language nor religion seemed to make great difference save as to the diagnosis of the poison. Yet this is fairly to be said: in Protestant communities there was no power to carry out the edict, that is to give teeth to the censor. There was no dread penalty at the hand of the Protestant censor, however much he might have desired such to do his bidding. So those not amenable to discipline went their way. The presses grew braver and the world was whirled into the vortex of modern life where the strength of the man is not made by keeping him from external touch with the world's ways of thought, but rather by stimulating an inner spirit of mastery which nullifies the power of outward impressions. Instead of fighting the devil with fire, we rather prefer to drown him in an ink well and then crush his remains under a Hoe press.

It has been seen that the Roman Church claimed the right to prohibit pernicious literature and also to authorize and act sponsor for all approved works the world over. These privileges carried control over their publications in all the earth where the Church was acknowledged. And while there might be no machinery to enforce the authorized privileges yet the printer was

assured the favor of the Church and was free from any interference on the part of the State.

In the early day of printing there was a universal element in the book language, which greatly facilitated this embargo on literature, whether on behalf of Protestant, Catholic or Jew—that was the prevalence of Latin; at the universities or the mass Latin reigned. Of course the first presses turned out largely the learned output. Thus it is comparatively easy to get and keep in view of them; the literary world had a real “Esperanto”—and the only one it ever will have unless men strangely change, for no real language is invented. After national life thrust the tentacles of a national language into the interstices of the old frame-work this unity was shattered and the possibility of the censor’s work exploded. After this there was the double muddle of many books in many tongues.

By the middle of the 18th century the Church began to see the impracticability of examining all books coming from the press. Sure enough, how could a small committee of men determine the results or possible influence for good or bad of the ever rising tide of books which in wave after wave were covering the civilized and civilizing world. Even if honest in intent the censors were lost in the magnitude of their work. It became increasingly impossible, if I dare so put it, for the Index compilers to have any personal knowledge of the contents of these works which they forbade the reading public. There were few reviews of books at the time and hence the censors were dependent for the names of very many of their censored books upon the name of its author or the firm which printed it, or the place of its publication—to such bare uses had high censorship fallen. Certain cities had a heretical smack, certain presses had a reputation for dubious orthodoxy, hence without further discussion the issuing book was damned because not of itself but by reason of its poor parentage or even its wet nurse.

Personal rivalries, too, largely contributed to the list of black-balled books. In Rome the direction of the censorship has been largely in the hands of the Dominican Order. Hence the writings of the Franciscans, Jesuits and Augustinians have suffered often at the hands of biased judges of a rival order and if on occasion the other orders secured representation on the boards

they had, and used, the opportunity for retaliation. Thus ensued the inglorious spectacle of the product of men's mind being made the shuttlecock, or perhaps at this season I should better say the football, of personal enmities or truculent rivalry.

The bickering of the several orders in the Church naturally wrought havoc with the censor's authority upon the part of those not in power. The Jansenists and Jesuits both suffered rather severely at the hands of the Dominicans, who have wielded generally the weapon, being the legal custodians of the Index. Hence we are not surprised to hear Arnauld say in 1656, "In France we do not trouble ourselves very much concerning the censors of the Index. We know on what grounds certain of the condemnations have been arrived at. It is assuredly true that the prohibiting of a work constitutes no evidence that it is really pernicious. We may await only bad results from the book censorship of Rome so long as the practice obtains of listening only to those who denounce books and of giving no opportunity to the authors themselves to make clear the precise meaning of their texts."

Later, in 1693, the same Roman writer insists that the Index labors under great abuses owing to the fact that "the members of the Index Committees have no more knowledge of the matters there to be considered than a shoemaker has of astronomy."

Besides, the bias of local patriotism often interfered with censorship, a high canonical authority winking at slight heterodoxy for the sake of maintaining for his own city the glory of a brilliant author's name. Thus when in the 17th century Rome put books under the ban, Florence, Milan, Pisa, Ferraro, each permitted it to remain a dead letter whenever it touched one of their own citizens. Occasionally indeed even in Italy a papal decree was disregarded and even openly questioned by the turbulent little mediaeval city states which became literary lands unto themselves.

Yet more and more the censor became a night-mare to the book man. At first State and Church welcomed the printer. "No art that the world has known," says the Prior of Ulm, 1459, "can be considered so useful, so much to be esteemed indeed as divine as that which has now by the grace of God been discovered at Mayence." And a thousand such joyous testi-

monials to the value of the press are in those early times to be had. But suddenly the press came into the consciousness of both Church and State as something to be feared and since then the press, the maker of civilization, has—be it said to our shame—had a fight for its own life and human liberties at one and the same time.

Close scrutiny—surveillance—of the most careful sort over literary production is distinctive of censorship where it exists. In Spain no book was printed or imported without examination and licensure. First the work in manuscript is licensed, then the printed sheets are carefully compared with the original, otherwise the book is burned. More pronounced methods still came into use—the tribunal of the Inquisition came upon the scene—search and seizure acts condemned all books infected with the doctrines of Luther. The State examined books before printing, the Inquisition scrutinized them as they came out of the press and culled out heresies and operated by exclusion for all sorts of theological appendicitis. Penalties grew into death and confiscation. In 1558 all printing had to be compared with the manuscript and each page of the manuscript signed separately by the secretaries of the Royal Chamber, who must also mark every correction and alteration and shall state at the end every alteration and the sum of them and the number of the leaves. Lea claims the *prima facie* evidence was against books. Their innocence had to be proved before circulation and even after this they were liable to adverse judgment. In the censor's business *ex post facto* laws are not altogether strange.⁵

De Job, after looking over a Patristic edition which had been tortured by omissions and insertions and glosses until its own father would not have known it, exclaims: "What would have been the result for scholarship, for literature and for the thought of the world if the inquisitorial censor had succeeded in establishing his domination throughout Europe and in placing all the manuscripts of the fathers under the key of the Vatican?"⁶ Perhaps we may have a glimpse of the possibility by noting the "book-making" troubles.

An author has a great historical work in contemplation, can

⁵ Lea, 22.

⁶ De Job, 89 and 209.

do nothing to complete it till he reads the "Centuries of Magdeline." But this latter is banned. He does not see them. The Spanish chaplain of Philip II writes in 1394 that the men of the Index have condemned books they have never seen. Men have been appointed who possess neither judgment nor capacity. They are, he continues, to read a great mass of volumes, and in order to get through easily with the repugnant task they declare quite simply and with a show of knowledge that the whole series must be suppressed. And the poor publishers—it was as difficult to get decisions of any kind from the censors as now it is to get your case early on the docket. We have an instance in the 16th century of a manuscript resting with the censor fifteen months and its author in order to hold contract having to pay printer in advance, but having no recourse to hasten the return of his manuscript. Again, an archbishop waits a year for his promised permission of publication after his work had been already thrice examined. Further, whole pages and paragraphs were eliminated from many works—paragraphs necessary for connection—the abolition of which entirely changed the purport of the thought. Learned or unlearned inquisitors, as the case might be, doctored the suffering manuscript. Oftentimes by adding explanations, correcting the text according to their own thought or lack of it.

Sigonius, a Vatican student, at request having written several text-books for the Church, had his manuscript "returned to him accused of unsound doctrine and scrawled over with such remarks as 'fake,' 'absurd.'" Such were some of the tribulations of authorship under the Index; authors too, many of whom at least hoped and aimed to be helpful to their faith and their age.

One of the anomalies of the censorship is the censoring of unpublished books. During the 16th and 17th centuries catalogues of books issued annually at the great European book fairs, notably those at Frankfort and Leipzig, were used by the censors in making out their list of prohibited books. Now it so happened that quite often books announced in these catalogues never saw the light of day at all.⁷ Many reasons conspired to this end. Either the money to publication could not be scraped together by the friends of the impecunious publisher, which

⁷ Symonds, 206.

wrote its obituary, or the death of the author or change of plan on the part of the printer prevented publication. In which case the book having been put on the Index by the over-zealous censor was thus given a sort of disembodied lease of life, a kind of transcendental immortality; being unprinted, unwritten, it yet, because of its enemies, enjoys the prominence of being in company with many of the immortals. Non-extant books were thus given place of distinction and became as though they were. In 1710 writes, "The Index has in fact been so misused that it makes prohibition of not a few books which are by no means deserving of so much honor."

The record of the Index may also be counted an important contribution to the history of literature. In the Bodlian Library at Oxford it served as a guide for works which were considered specially valuable to be collected and printed. Indeed Bishop Barlow says of the "Index Expurgatorii" that they are invaluable records of the literature of the doctrines and opinions obnoxious to Rome. "In these Indices we are directed," he continues, to the chapter and line where anything is spoken against any error of Rome." And Rensch shows that thus the Indexes have preserved the record and character of not a few works which otherwise undoubtedly would be totally forgotten.

But withal books under censorship grew scarcer. Students in certain sections were thus absolutely deprived of the use of outside literature. And such dearth of material had, and of necessity had to have, deteriorating effect on the tone of mental life and productiveness.

Villers in 1802 says, "In Spain, in Italy and in Austria, heavy shackles have been imposed on the liberty of writing and thinking." We are told that in those countries leading writings and writers are kept under lock and key only to be used by such persons as desire to refute their teachings.

Indeed the general deduction from a careful and temperate survey is that the censorship curtailed literary output and "restricted the production and distribution of literature." Yet practically this inhibition was felt but little north of the Alps and east of the Pyrenees; where there was no temporal power or inquisitorial process to enforce the Index, slight interference was the result. Elsewhere the reading of such literature was held a

deadly sin and followed by possible excommunication. These latter weapons, however, proved non-efficient in meeting the issue.

Careful students count it a matter of surprise that with all the restrictions Catholic scholars of the 16th and 17 centuries were able to produce anything of value. It is to be noted, however, that for centuries the literary productions of European nations has been markedly different and for this there is no blood or climatic explanation. May not the constant repression of the censor, however benevolent its purpose or mild its sway, have largely produced the condition? Besides the interference with scholarly work, how many volumes of perhaps untold and uncomputed worth may have failed to come to birth because of the depressing doubt of their publication, doubt thrown by the Index upon all literary work? Who shall measure the world's loss in having Spain, with its mental prowess, Italy, with its sinuous suppleness, Austria, with its Teutonic thoroughness—for centuries practically out of the lists of the aggressive forces of civilization—at least in any degree at all commensurate with their capacity for production.

Works of world stimulus the censor destroyed. Some undoubtedly their authors, after the travail of their souls had begotten them into a lively hope of at least their nation's mental resurrection, allowed to go by default rather than risk religious excommunication and racial ostracism. Again other world-important works already in the initial stages of print, rather than face family disgrace, loss of position and a pittance of daily bread.

That the "extremes of the Index and the authority of the Inquisition acted as a blight on all literary production and distribution and constituted a serious loss to higher education and to intellectual development"—is the settled conviction of a great body of men who have examined the grounds and results of the system with open minds and dispassionate judgments. Thus Aonio Paleario, after explaining its rise, denominates the Index "a dagger drawn from the scabbard to assassinate letters."⁸ Sari terms it "the finest secret which has ever been discovered for applying religion to the purpose of making men idiotic."

⁸ Tridentine Council, Vol. 2.

To indicate in a measure this numbing effect of the Index, I quote the letter of a Roman scholar upon the appearing of the Index of Paul IV, which, because it is the first to be prepared in Rome under papal supervision, is of special importance. Written in 1559 the worried scholar makes plaint:—

“Why should you be planning for the publication of any new works at a time when nearly all the books which have thus far appeared are being taken away from us? It seems to me that for some years to come no one among us will dare to write anything but letters. There has just been published an Index of books which under pain of excommunication we are no longer permitted to possess. The number of these prohibited is so great that there will remain but few. On this ground I advise you to put to one side your versions of the Bible and Demosthenes. I shall begin tomorrow going over my own library so that nothing may be found in it which is not authorized. Should I describe as a shipwreck or a holocaust of literature. In any case this censorship must have the result of deterring many of your group from the production of books and will serve as a warning to the printers to be cautious in making selections for their presses.”⁹ Such a letter is its own commentary.

Learning is the result of research and research must be free and cannot co-exist with the claim of authority as superior to inquiry. Hence the gradual shifting of intellectual centers from South to North Europe; for books follow thought as trade follows the flag. One of the startling features of all this is that looking back over the centuries and carefully cataloging the books passing under the disapprobation of the censor we find that if President Eliot’s “five feet of books” are not all included, yet it remains a fact that “an almost perfect library could be formed by these forbidden volumes. You could revel in the finest of poems, indulge in romance, be lost in philosophy, grow critical in science, follow the unfolding of history or rhapsodize in theology and morals without going outside the library of condemned books. It is the abrogation of all this tremendous literary output by the Index which cannot but appal the stoutest heart.

Yet, “it is well to remember,” says a Catholic, “that in practice the condemnations of the Index probably affect very much

⁹ Mendham.

less than is generally imagined the actual sale or distribution of the books condemned, partly because of the ignorance of condemnation, partly because of increasing modification of legislation, and partly because the persons for whom such books were chiefly intended are often by privilege or by dispensation provided with authority to read the same." It is to be seen thus how temporary and limited in practice the Index works, even though in theory so universal and all-inclusive. It is to this impossibility of being carried into effect that the continued vitality of literature even in Italy is to be attributed. Yet it could not be otherwise. No great literature can be shaped by being run into molds. Literature is a creative spirit expressed. Thus the Roman idea of development by following a policy of prohibitions and penalties and theological obligations was bound to be a failure. Literature has been a success in these lands only in proportion to this failure. France, which throughout its history has maintained a certain national independence which in its ecclesiastical life is known as "Gallican liberty," has not lightly yielded to the Index. And the freedom of its press has been no doubt the basis for the brilliance of the same.

"Where would the State be," says Jules Ferry to the French Senate in '92, "if the decisions of that body which has placed the interdict upon the great spirits of mankind, such as Descartes, Malebranche, Kant, Renan and others, should be accepted as the law of the land."

Let Spain answer. Under Ferdinand and Isabella was originated, in 1502, the European idea of censorship—"an influence so incompatible with the development of human intelligence." "The Spanish people strove earnestly for the maintenance of the faith, but it understood by this," says De Job, "not the reform of methods of life and the correction of immoralities, but the extirpation of heresies." Thus it came about that "by the end of the 16th century book-selling as known elsewhere in the world was practically in Spain unknown," and literature was dead.

Diminished book supply had its natural consequence lessened literary quickening and the learning died where the censor flourished. The Renaissance had quickened the mental pulse and awakened a lethargic age, but the censor drugged the patient

and dulled and blunted the keen edge of his intellectual impulse. Symonds says:—

“Independence of judgment was rigorously proscribed in all academies and seats of erudition. New methods and text-books were forbidden. Professors were hampered in their choice of antique authors. Only those which were sanctioned by the censors of the Index could be used in lecture rooms. Greek poets were prohibited as redolent of paganism. Roman law had to be treated from an orthodox scholastic standpoint.”¹⁰ It was complained that a professor was no better than a donkey working in a mill.

Muretos, an enthusiastic literateur, was “forbidden to lecture on Plato or touch jurisprudence or consult necessary books in the Vatican library. Greek books were banished. “*Graeca sunt, ergo non legenda.*”

Benci, a professor at Rome declares that his students walked about the class room during his lectures or lounged sleepily in the corner, adding ironically, that he does not object to their sleeping as long as they abstain from snoring.

Thus says Rosi: “One might perceive with tears how those treasures of human letters which our fathers exalted to the skies were degraded in the estimation of youth. In the olden days men crossed the seas and undertook long journeys to salute the masters of learning. Now they are scorned.”

As early as 1334 the University of Paris in regard to literary production was brought under control of the crown. From that time till practically the 20th century the censorship has controlled—even during the Revolution, one merely giving way to another.

In 1540 a witness declares that he heard a sermon in which was the following adjuration:—“A new language has been discovered which they call Greek. Against this you must be carefully on your guard, for it is the infant tongue of all heresies. There is a book written in that language called the New Testament. It is a book full of vipers. As to the Hebrew tongue, it is well known that all who learn it presently become Jews.”¹¹ In 1685 Louis XIV ordered the destruction of all heretical

¹⁰ Symonds, 1-213.

¹¹ Putnam, 336.

books. In the 17th century private book shelves were ransacked by heresy hunters and many authors driven into exile.

But it is a moral savior most of all that the idea of book condemnation through censorship had its most stable support. Yet, while in much doing well, it remained a fact that heretical books were through the processes of the Index brought to the attention of many who otherwise would never have known of their existence. Veros writes that "the Index of Paul IV had had a most pernicious influence in making known to Catholic readers a long list of Protestant writers. For naturally Protestant scholars used the catalogue of the Index very largely as recommendation of books that from their standpoint were worthy of consideration. Thus serious disadvantage resulted to the very cause intended to be aided.

Besides their constant surveillances and studied and recurring restrictions had a most unhappy repressing effect also on character and individuality, besides tending to the development of deceit and the suppression of manliness. A narrowed intelligence went hand in hand through the Index with a narrowed manhood.

The modern Roman view of the Index is given by the German Hilgers,¹² who states the purpose is "the protecting and defending of the true faith, sound morality and wholesome conduct!" And this is the core of it, a defense of faith. "The Index," says an American Catholic scholar, "is meant to be both preventive and repressive. Its preventive action is exercised through the diocesan censor who in every district must examine Catholic works and give his opinion before the Bishop, writes his 'imprimatus' or 'nihil obstat' upon them and thus permits their publication. Its repressive action is taken by the congregation as a committee prohibiting the reading by the 'faithful' of any condemned book. And this authority is to be observed everywhere, the Roman authorities having in 1898 in response to inquiries declared the Index to be in full force in all English speaking countries." In general the Index is, however, acknowledged in Catholic lands and growing in respect at least on the part of the Church accredited officials.

In 1861 the "Katholik" of Mainz says, "It is through the In-

¹² Hilgers, 71.

dex that the Holy See exercises one of the most important of its functions." Again in the same periodical it asserts that "the Index has from the beginning been the most trustworthy teacher of a sound theology and defender of the faith."

And Bishop Baillas of Lucon in '64, acclaims the censorship of the Church in this wise:—"The Index may be considered as itself one great book in which are characterized with more or less precision all the errors, heresies and schisms of the ages, a book which for all devout scholars may be accepted as a trustworthy chart on which has been marked with a skilled and trusted hand all sunken rocks and other perils of the deep. It is the incomparable master work of the wisdom of the Church."

Bishop Plantin of Nismes, is quoted by Putnam as in a pastoral letter describing the congregation of the Index as "the throne of good sense, the magistracy of truth and a tribunal, each utterance of which constitutes an indispensable service to true philosophy.

In 1866 *Revue Ecclesiastique* says that in France "the Index is now assented to without serious question." Throughout the 19th century Catholic councils have indorsed the congregation of the Index. Such were the Councils at Paris, 1849, Rheims, 1857, Prague, 1860, Utrecht, 1865.

In '52, Bishop Ballis instructs his flock that "the prohibition of a book by the Holy See is binding upon believers throughout the Church universal. The lists issued by the authority of Rome of condemned and prohibited books are securing from year to year a fuller authority and wider recognition—only heretics, schismatics and Galliceans at this time contest the general authority of the Index."

The *Mümler Katolik* in 1864 says, "The faithful throughout the world are under obligations to accept the authority of the censorship tribunals, not only in regard to the use of prohibited books, but also in reference to the conclusions reached by these censors concerning the soundness of doctrines or general fitness for devout reading of the literature contained in such book."

Yet the unreliability of the Index has been recognized by Roman Catholic writers themselves. In 1870 eleven French bishops demanded that no Catholic authors be condemned until he had opportunity of defending himself and the passages in his

book which had been attacked, the German bishops joining in this position.

In discussing the Vatican Council, Segasser says, "We do not admit that the Roman Index as now carried on fulfils the purpose for which it was instituted."

About the same time the "Mainzer Catholic" submits that "it may be doubted whether it is practicable under the present social conditions to enforce any prohibition in regard to reading books and whether, therefore, such prohibitions are not pernicious rather than helpful." The editor suggests betterment by a change of method. He would establish critical journals in university centers, reviewing and giving reasons for the prohibitions; thus almost entirely new ground is taken and reason, not authority, becomes the ground of the Index. And this present-day suggestion was already in the 17th century carried out with splendid results. The acknowledged superiority of theological writings in France during the 17th century over those of Italy and Spain is held by De Job to be due almost entirely to the greater freedom of French scholars in carrying on their investigation and getting their books into print. Nay, it may be said that the French Church with her adherence to her Gallican liberties and her mutilated and non-consistent book censorship, made it possible for the Mother Church of Rome to accomplish far more than the strictest Index could have done.

To hold men into the Church the Huguenots and controversialists had to be answered—and this was done right brilliantly by a fine body of literary men within the Church's gate, men like Bossuet, Fenelon, Malebranche and Mabillon—and in lay circles by Racine and Corneille. Such names indicate possibilities of a real defense of the truth from a Roman standpoint when fetters are removed from literature. And Louis XIV himself in 1513, speaking of printing as "rather divine than human," followed the true plan of effective censorship by requesting the Paris theological faculty to examine a book formerly condemned at the Council of Paris. But he did not require of them any harsh measures—rather in this early day he invented the true process of censoring, by proposing that the faculty should go through the book chapter by chapter and then present in summary its refutation by argument.

We conclude then that whatever the provocation, the censor is not the solution. It belongs to childhood's age. The external compulsion of the press must always be a dangerous remedy whatever be the condition of the patient. If authority can quiet for a good purpose it can later kill in the hands of the reactionary. Besides who shall judge that degree of freedom which shall be called crime, and distinguished between this and that infinitesimal less degree which is to command the law in its defense? Shall a governor of Pennsylvania force a drastic gag upon a press made free through centuries of struggle even though there had been individual provocation and abuses? Shall a critical gentleman-editor of Indiana be haled out of his domicile and away from his home to a far away city to answer for even an offense much greater than that of having failed to always print the President's photo with a double halo or a caudal appendage of a stellar constellation?

"In 1830 Thiers says truth alone can have abiding influence and no government can ever be injured by libellous publications." But in changed conditions, in '34, he writes in a wholly different vein. The representatives of the people are having their influence impaired by the falsifications of the press. It is essential for the safety of the State that there be a close supervision of the press. Such is the instability of mortals and hence the care to be exercised in yielding to any one a coercive power over the press.

Censorship is the suppression of thought and at best an illegitimate use of power, a noxious undergrowth of reaction. J. Stuart Mill insists that by silencing the expression of opinion one robs the human race (of the present and its posterity as well). "If the opinion is right," men are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth produced by its collision with error." Fallibility is a quality of mortal from which the author does not escape, but the censor, too, is of the same stuff and in the processes of mental attention the world seems to have made its best progress. For we may agree with Tennyson that "the thoughts of men are broadened in the process of the suns." Even half-truths put into the mill of the world's grinding are quickest

eliminated from the system in their elements of weakness, or absorbed in their elements of strength, by the old "laissez faire" law of political economy. At best and at last a book like a man must needs work out its own salvation, however great that task or dangerous the way.

It remains to say with Milton:—"I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, for books are not dead things but do contain and preserve as in a vial that purest efficiency of that living intellect that bred them. I know that they are lively and productive as those fabulous dragon's teeth and being sown up and down there may chance spring up armed men, and yet on the other hand unless wariness be used as good almost kill a man as kill a good book. Many a man lives a burden to the earth, but a good book is the previous life blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up in purpose for a life beyond.....We should be wary, therefore, what persecutions we raise against the living labors of public men, how we spill the seasoned life of a man preserved and stored up in books, since we see a kind of homicide may there be committed sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole edition a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at the breath of reason itself, slays rather an immortality!"

Springfield, Ohio.

ARTICLE IX.

THE PULPIT IN MODERN LIFE.

BY REV. JOHN ELLERY TUTTLE, D.D.

In considering the pulpit in modern life one is confronted by a fact and a phenomenon.

The fact is that the present is an age of preaching. It is immensely effective preaching, attended with increasing interest, destined to a future of incalculable power.

The phenomenon is that, in an age of preaching, we behold a discounted pulpit.

The preaching which holds the ear of the masses is of the pulpit but indirectly. The preachers are in the chairs of college presidents, at the desks of editors, in the columns of current magazines, on the rear end of trains, on the platforms of political gatherings, in public offices from the chief executive of the nation to the village mayor.

Certainly the fact and force of this extra pulpit preaching is a tribute to the leavening power of the Christian pulpit.

Certainly, it is neither expected nor desired that the Christian preacher receive special honor as superior to other men. He does not deserve it nor, did he, would it be desirable it be accorded him. With Bishop Brooks we should be "glad that mere forms of reverence for the preacher's office have so far passed away" and that the pulpit and the man in it are estimated by the just, if severe, standard of actual worth. Certainly, it must be believed that, in the estimation of serious people the Christian pulpit still holds an essential place as a factor in the training of society in right thinking and righteous living. Yet, must it be admitted that in the thought of the majority, and over the lives of the mass, of men the direct influence of the pulpit has waned to an alarming extent. By the crowd, it is regarded as the organ of a class or the relic of an outgrown age. If it be said the churches are as full as ever, the significance of this fact suffers seriously when it is remembered that church membership has not increased, nor churches multiplied, nor church attendance enlarged proportionately to the growth of the native population.

Relatively, fewer people are in the churches and, clearly, as Professor Forsyth asserts, church attendants are less amenable than formerly to the teaching of the pulpit.

Not only is the pulpit thus discounted by the uncritical masses of the people but, to a large degree, by critical scholarship. While many scholars are not only regular attendants but devout and self-sacrificing members of churches, modern scholarship widely questions the intellectual integrity of the pulpit, its understanding of and sympathy with the methods and results of present day investigation. Respectful, it does not respect the intellectual standards of the pulpit. Undoubtedly, it does not regard it as pagan but, quite certainly, as suckled in creeds outworn, wedded to tradition, theoretical, well meaning, but in vision and method trailing the intellectual procession of the present.

By critics critical or indifferent it is not surprising the pulpit be discounted. It is more surprising and more serious to find it discounted in the house of its friends.

If we judge by its care of the preachers it has and its efforts to provide for them a worthy succession, we must conclude the Church, as a whole, has small concern for its own pulpit. In three particulars the Church is seriously discounting the pulpit in the thought of the masses. First, the material. Not a single denomination of the Christian Church is making proper provision for the financial support of its ministry. In many instances, the salary paid is a disgrace to the Church of Christ. The churches of the country represent immense wealth and those of a given community, as a rule, its highest average prosperity. Yet, at the lowest, many clergymen receive less than day laborers; at the highest, a fraction of the salary paid men of corresponding ability in other callings; on an average, less than skilled artisans. With cost of living greatly increased, with wages and salaries generally advanced, the compensation of ministers has remained practically unchanged. Among the churches best supporting their clergy, the Presbyterian in the U. S. A. pays an average salary of \$750 a year without manse, a standard below which most denominations fall. Counting out the wealthy city churches, the average salary in the larger bodies is less than the income of a street laborer for a full year's work.

The commission appointed by President Roosevelt to settle the strike in the Pennsylvania coal regions reported that the yearly wages of stablemen were \$689.52, pumpmen \$685.72, carpenters \$603.90, blacksmiths \$557.43. Thousands of ministers receive less salary, irregularly paid, and the cost of living to them is as much greater than that of the classes named as their social standard is higher. Relatively there is no class of men in the entire country upon whose salaries so many demands are made as upon the preacher's. Out of this small income, he and his family must maintain an appearance equal to that of the best people in the community, keep up with costly books and papers or lose his intellectual standing, represent his Church in conventions, set an example in benevolence and hospitality. The United States government retires a second lieutenant, the lowest in the grade of commissioned officers, at the end of five years' service with a salary, to continue as long as he lives, larger than that received by the majority of preachers at their best (\$1402.50). One defense of this I have recently seen, from a southern preacher—on a large salary. He says, "Genius is eclipsed by having plenty to eat and wear. This fact is just as true of preachers as it is of poets. We cannot strike out with our complete strength when our stomachs are full and our backs are warm. Too much to eat and too much to wear is good for neither poet nor preacher."

Secondly, the Church, in its general practice, is making it impossible for the average preacher to perform, at his best, the highest functions of his office. Business men, establishing representatives of their firms, provide them, as a necessary part of the cost of operation, an adequate office force and its expenses. They scrupulously save them from details which may lessen their efficiency in the real things they are expected to do. They do not consider it wise policy to make their representatives act as stenographers, collectors, bank messengers, and errand boys. It is a singular thing, but a constant occurrence, that these same business men, acting for the Church, place a pastor over a business of large dimensions requiring high qualities of executive ability, make him a captain of industry, load him with a multiplicity of details, provide him neither office expenses nor office force, and yet expect him to do well the real things for which he

has been called to the church, with the inevitable result that, in details, preachers, as a class, are the hardest worked men in the community, but, on the great essentials of their calling are working less than any other men of similar responsibility and opportunity. A few preachers, in whom the instinct for self-preservation is strong, illustrate the law of the survival of the fittest.

Last, but not least, the contrast between the former solicitude of the Church for the adequate supply of an educated ministry and its present indifference to the number and quality of its preachers is plainly evident. The noble colleges of New England, born of the prayers and sacrifices of preachers and people, attest the former; the depleted ranks of a partially trained ministry the latter. Then, Christian mothers were saying, as Margaret Howe to Domsie Jamieson, "Ma hert's desire is to see George a minister, and if the Almightie spared me to hear ma only bairn open his mouth in the Evangel, I wud hae naething mair to ask." Now, the parents of the Church are not only indifferent but often antagonistic to the claims of the ministry upon their sons.

If we turn to the preacher himself, it is to find him assisting, negatively, but in effect, to produce a discounted pulpit. He is lacking in what, in law or medicine, is called "professional enthusiasm." I do not mean he is not earnest, for the zeal of preachers, as a class, is gratifyingly near the high level of Baxter's lines,

"I preached as never sure to preach again,
And as a dying man to dying men."

Nor do I refer to the absence of what Dr. Burton, in his Yale lectures, styles "bubble in boys and beginners." But this,—the preacher does not leave upon young men the impression that he regards his the most glorious calling in the world. A small percentage of his own sons choose the ministry. He is not giving much real thought to or making much effort for, the future of the pulpit. How many preach annual sermons upon the opportunities and claims of the Christian ministry? Dr. Watson has told us that Domsie, schoolmaster of Drumtochty, with unerring scent for "pairts" in his boys, could detect a scholar in the

egg, prophesied Latinity from a boy that seemed fit only to be a cowherd and hunted for Latin as for fine gold. For the preacher in the egg, the preacher in the pulpit has little instinct. The men now most active in recruiting the ranks of the ministry are not those directly in its service but teachers in schools of theology and secretaries of Christian Associations.

The last phase of the phenomenon of the discounted pulpit is the attitude to it of Christian young men in Christian homes and colleges. The statement of President Taft that the ministry is not attracting our ablest young men cannot be disputed. A small percentage of Christian students not entering the ministry give it serious consideration. For the thirty-six years ending 1906, ministerial students in the United States increased 137 per cent.; medical, 302; law, 848, and those in industrial and commercial occupations by percentages enormously larger than in law or medicine. In the twelve years ending 1907, in fifty-eight leading schools of theology the decrease in ministerial students was 18 per cent. In the same period, in the twenty-six largest Protestant denominations of the country communicants increased 25 and white population 20 per cent. The same condition prevails in all the more important countries. In 1825, the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. had one ministerial candidate to every 624 church members; in 1908, one to every 1176, or two-thirds of the normal supply. The normal proportion since 1825 is one to every 800 communicants. In this single branch of the Church 500 more men are needed for home mission fields alone. In one synod, in the older section of the country, are 75 vacant pulpits, despite strenuous efforts to fill them. The minutes of the last General Assembly give in round numbers, 10,000 churches with 9,000 ministers to man them, and this number to be reduced by some hundreds of men not available as pastors; this, too, in one of the most aggressive and efficient of the denominations of the Church.

Without asking for the specific explanations of this phenomenon of a pulpit discounted in an age of preaching and in the most religious age of history, by thoughtless masses, by scientific scholarship, by the Church and the preacher and by Christian youth, the question arises, Is the pulpit passing? In the evolution of society is it being out-

grown and left behind as an institution which has seen its best and, henceforth, as a direct influence upon society, as a challenge to the best ability and to the Christian sentiment of young men, is it to occupy a subordinate position? Is its work to be done by lay institutions, by preachers in other callings, by literature and the press? A clergymen in New York City, speaking of the cultivation of the spirit of righteousness, affirmed recently that ethical character must be made by practice and that preaching does little good. Another is quoted as saying that in the future, the evening service of his church will be given over to art, literature, music; that he will preach much less than formerly and that preaching in general is much overdone. Readily admitting that a certain kind of preaching is, doubtless, overdone, nevertheless, such remarks are symptomatic. Yet, with Prof. Forsyth, I will venture to say that "with its preaching Christianity stands or falls."

If, with Mr. Arthur Benson we ask, "What room is there in these latter days for the priest," with him we reply, "Of the true priesthood there is more room than there ever was."

Reaching back to its remotest beginnings in the history of patriarchs and prophets, preaching is a distinctive feature of Christianity. Historically, it is the largest as it is the characteristic factor in the progress of the Christian religion. Neither machinery nor methods have ever taken its place or lessened its importance. The quality of the preaching has ever been the measure of the glory or shame of the Church. It has been the first office in the Church of all ages as, Emerson declared, "the office is the first in the world."

If there is any lesson written in letters of flame on the page of her history it is that the strength and glory, the joy and hope of the Christian Church to-day depend absolutely upon the ability and devotion of the men in her pulpit. If there be not strong preachers, there cannot be strong laymen. If there be not strong laymen there cannot be a strong Church. Now, as before, the progress of Christianity is dependent upon a perpetual reincarnation of Jesus Christ in preachers. Truth in the abstract has no charm for men. From the beginning, God has written His law for man in the living of men. Bishop Brooks, if he is right in saying that the two essential elements in preach-

ing are truth, and personality, has not only comprehensively defined preaching but has, also, shown its permanent necessity. Nothing can take the place of a man as the voice and embodiment of truth. The gospel is the Word; a word must have a speaker. Because the Christian religion is identified with the social order of the world, it must have men to voice it. The Christian pulpit is grounded in the nature and necessities of religion and in the nature and necessities of man. Preaching is divinely inevitable and never more so than in this age when the nature of religion and the needs of man are apparent as in no age preceding.

If certain conditions be met, the glory of the golden age of the pulpit is yet to dawn.

What are these conditions which, fulfilled, will give the pulpit its rightful place in the thought of all classes and its normal influence over our modern world? They center in the Church and the preacher.

Judgment must begin at the house of God. The present day tasks of the Church will be variously defined and graded as they may be stated from the viewpoint of the theologian, the socialist, the sociologist or the preacher. It would seem that all must agree that first among all the problems of the modern Church, whether regarded from the side of her self-preservation or that of her duty to society, is the problem which centers in the man in her pulpit. The Church must give the pulpit a higher place in her thought and purpose, must clothe it with new dignity before men and recognize more clearly its vital relation not only to her own future but to that of the Christian religion. The Church must arouse herself first to care for the preachers she has and then to secure from her choicest youths those who shall be their more efficient successors.

At this point, the first thing for the Church to consider is not the problem of securing more ministers but the simple duty of saving to their highest usefulness those she already has. Not for sake of material gain but out of regard for their calling, the time has come for plain speaking by Christian ministers. At once, and in proportion to her wealth and the needs of her ministers, the Church should provide more adequate salaries. Where churches are too poor to do this, they should be aided by

those richer. The last man in the community who should practice severe economy is the preacher. He cannot afford it and, if possible, the Church can less. It imperils his power and growth and, therefore, that of the church he serves.

Next, the Church must free her ministers from the danger of bondage to details. She needs in her pulpit prophets more than organizers, preachers more than business men.

This, the cure of the twin ills sapping many a preacher's intellectual and spiritual strength, is the psychotherapy which, just now, should be the first concern of the Church.

The future of the pulpit demands the best thought and the most devoted energies of every branch of the Church. It is the imperative duty of our churches to impress with the true dignity and importance of the pulpit, to summon to it, as to heroic service, the noble youth of the land, whose ears are quick to catch the trumpet note of a lofty summons. With this, young men must be assured that the Church accords the man in the pulpit the same intellectual rights granted the man in the pew. Doubtless, the preacher of sense and piety finds no limitation set to his freedom of thought or utterance; but the impression has gone out among young men that he does; that something of essential manliness must be surrendered by the modern preacher who, sympathetic with the scholarship of the time, would keep peace with his church.

Placing a premium on integrity of individual thought rather than on subscription to the formulated thoughts of others however wise, the most evident need of the Church is to secure the ablest and best trained men for her pulpit.

In his recent address to the students of the University of Pennsylvania, President Taft, speaking of the ministry, said: "To-day it is not true that that profession attracts the ablest young men, and this, I think, is a distinct loss to our society, for it is of the utmost importance that the profession whose peculiar duty it is to maintain high moral standards and to arouse the best that there is in man, to stir him to higher aspirations, should have the genius and brilliancy with which successfully to carry out this function." It is beyond dispute that the task of shaping the religious education and ideals of the entire community as the preacher does calls for the ablest possible men, trained in

the best institutions and in the best methods of modern scholarship. Great as is the demand for more ministers, quality is more necessary than quantity. The fundamental need of all professions and trades is better men. To this, the ministry is no exception. Here, as everywhere else, all things depend upon the man. As a means to this end, should not the Church make it harder for men to get into her pulpit? There are many young men who, in choosing an occupation, follow the line of least resistance. From such, the pulpit is in more danger than any of the professions because of the long established custom of free financial aid to students for the ministry. No man ought to enter the ministry if he can be kept out of it by financial difficulties. Something of St. Paul's, "Woe is me," ought to be the fundamental motive in the choice of a life work which tests the integrity of one's purpose as does that of the Christian pulpit and in which ultimate usefulness is so manifestly determined by the preacher's passion for his mission.

Let the Church tell her youth to fight their way to the diploma in theology as their comrades do to that of law or medicine. Let her aid be not by gifts but in return for service rendered. The effect upon young men and, ultimately, upon the ministry is not wholesome when one reads in the report of the treasurer of Yale University that, while the medical student paid 32.9 per cent. of the cost to the University of his education, the music student 52.1 per cent., the law student 69.3 per cent., the student for the ministry, the annual cost to the University of whose education, \$641.03, was highest of all, made no return whatever.

In all this, the burden and duty of the Church for the pulpit in modern life, the responsibility rests now, as never before, upon the city church. For long, the country church has been the fountain of ministerial supply. Now, because of the foreign population nesting in the old homes of New England and filling so largely the interior States, all this is changed. It will be one hundred years before we can hope for the new Protestant population of the country towns to begin its contribution to the general supply of the ministry. For two generations, at least, the churches of the large centers must assume the responsibility for the supply of the modern pulpit.

But, turning from the Church and its duty, it is undoubtedly true, at the last analysis, that the preacher himself, more than any other, is responsible for the strength or weakness of the pulpit, the arbiter of its fate in modern society. So far as it needs defense, it is from him; so far as it can be made more effective, it will be by him. It is idle to ask how far he is responsible for its present relatively weakened influence. It is sufficient to recognize that through him must come its resurrection. For the preacher to clearly perceive this, to frankly acknowledge it, and to inquire how he can give the pulpit its largest place in modern life is even more important than that the Church perform her manifest duty. What, then, are the next things for the preacher to ponder?

First, and in general, he must know the age to which he preaches. Every age is a time of transition, unless the orb of progress ceases to revolve; but there has never been one quite like this. To name all its aspects is impossible. The preacher must observe that the transition is from systems of thought inherited to thought wrought out in investigation; from intellectual methods received by tradition to those of the scientific process, in which the lecture gives way to the laboratory, in which scholarship fears nothing save to miss the truth and fact of things; a time of developing social consciousness and growing sense of individual significance; of the socialist's quest for equality; of a deepening sense of brotherhood; of rapidly growing resentment against all forms of injustice between man and man; while through all runs the note of deep unrest; a time of materialism which exercises its spell over the concepts and character of the average man within as without the Church, over the poor as over the rich, influencing him to define success in terms of place and possessions, to give scant heed to his life but much to meat and raiment, to hold with slight grasp the fundamental truths of the Christian faith; an age of realism, which is materialism gone to seed, in light literature and on the stage parading its unblushing obscenities before an unblushing public; a time of confusion between ideals and practice, while underneath all moves a magnificent idealism,—an underground stream here and there glimmering into the light, ever coming nearer and nearer the surface of life, nurturing the down reaching

roots of a steadily growing moral sense manifested in a civic conscience such as the world has never before known, feeding the springs of a spiritual devotion productive of the best type of Christian character attained since the beginning of the Christian era, and making the hearts of men of vision beat with hope as they contemplate that coming day when the waters of Christian idealism, like the stream from beneath the temple in the prophet's vision, will touch all the roots of human action until it unfolds in the glory of a regenerated society whose justice and honor, faith and love will be the realization of the prophet's dream of people all righteous.

Again, he must know the Church of which he is a commissioned preacher. In the Church of this age, the preacher faces much of the condition he finds in the world of his time. It, too, is in transition. On the one hand is a conservatism out of sympathy with the viewpoint, method and results of modern scholarship; on the other, in that part of the Church influenced by the scientific and philosophic thought of the day, a movement toward a gospel materially changed from that of the fathers in respect to the immortality of the soul and the historicity of the main events in the life of Jesus,—a gospel with a message of deliverance but not of deliverance in the New Testament sense; an ethical and not a spiritual salvation. Professor Clarke tells us in "What Shall We Think of Christianity," that, in its early days, "the people were changed by the new faith, but the new faith was changed by the people. Christianity transformed the people toward its likeness, and was in turn transformed by them toward their likeness." The Church of to-day meets the same experience. Faith works its transformation upon an age of inquiry but the spirit of the age modifies the Faith. Christian love works its marvels upon the times but the times, in turn, make the fires of love flame low. If their inherited inertia toward the Church were removed and they were left with only the momentum of their personality acquired religious principle, a sadly large proportion of the members of the Church would come to a standstill in the Godward movement of their lives.

If we glance at its social attitude, the Church is slow to recognize and interpret social conditions and to adapt itself to them. Democratic in theory, it halts in the application of its theory to

its practice. Its disposition, as seen in individual churches, is to follow the class for which it was founded. Its influence upon the preacher is to make him the chaplain of a class rather than a minister to all, than which few dangers, in an age with the temper of ours, are more serious.

The attitude of the preacher to such general conditions manifestly has vital bearing upon the place of the pulpit in modern life. Trained in the best schools, sympathetic with the quest for truth, hospitable to results of investigation, he must represent the spirit and methods of the modern mind. Socially, he must not fail to leave on men a distinct impression of justice, democracy, unflinching moral courage,—a man's man but no man's man. Ethically, he must be strong; his nature not

“subdued

To what it works in, like a dyer's hand.”

He must rise above the influence of and be uncompromised by friendship with the men of his church whose ideals are materialized by commercialism and must be virile enough to ethically remake men of the Church whose financial prosperity is due to an unethical use of existing laws and who would be financial losers by a simple Christian obedience to the statutes of the State and the Scripture. He must deal with long range sins committed by men who are rich because they have sinned and who sin because they are rich, whose personal ethics may be at concert pitch but whose corporation morals are out of tune with the keynote of the Sermon on the Mount. The strong he must inspire with the spirit of sacrifice; victors, with the ideal of service. He must tell the poor that poverty is often a sin; the rich, that wealth is often a crime and all that it is right to be rich if they can be rich and be right. As never before, the pulpit must be positive and constructive. The modern preacher is doomed to fail who punctuates his thought and utterance with interrogation marks. Men of to-day are asking him not for questions but for affirmations, not for nebulae but for the sun.

The preacher must, then, choose, and on his choice hangs his fate, between a gospel of illumination and a gospel of illusion; between a negative criticism and a positive evangelism; between

apostles real through accepted realities or real through honestly believed unrealities; between man as a son of God with a future as long as eternity or man as a child of chance, going from nowhere to a grave; between an historical or a hypothetical Jesus; a Jesus who is an incarnation or a Jesus who is an illustration; a Jesus who is a finality or a Jesus who is but one in a process of evolution, who, since the final result cannot be found at a point midway in the process, is tentative and provisional, our example only until a greater is produced. If he choose the side of negation, his only hope for even a passing hearing from this hungry age is that he be positive in his negations.

Emphatically, too, it should be said, the preacher who moulds the modern world must impress it with a sense of his own high estimate of his calling, his fervent belief in it, his joy in it, his enthusiasm for it. There can be no question but that the preacher must give men who are enthusiastic in their work an example of enthusiasm surpassing theirs. He must revise and revive his enthusiasms. The average preacher is tremendously earnest, devoted and, doubtless, as happy as such men usually are; but as a rule, he does not give the impression of "professional enthusiasm." He believes in his calling but he does not believe in it enough in the way in which other men believe in theirs. He is too self-contained in an age of enthusiasms in work. If, in such an age, he arouses a new regard for his calling, especially among young men, he must, in a new way, incarnate before them the lofty, attractive, interest compelling spirit of an heroic enthusiasm. I do not say he should act as if the ministry were the only calling in which a man should engage but he should come as near it as he can and still teach men that all necessary work is a divine occupation. He must acquire the bearing of a leader. He must demand more for his calling. He must elevate, disentangle, isolate it by the manifestation of a joy and confidence in it something like that expressed by Philip Brooks in the opening words of his Yale lectures, "I cannot begin to speak to you who are preparing for the work of preaching, without congratulating you most earnestly upon the prospect that lies before you. I cannot help bearing witness to the joy of the life which you anticipate. There is no career that can compare with it for a moment in the rich and satisfying

relations into which it brings a man with his fellow-men, in the deep and interesting insight which it gives him into human nature, and in the chance of the best culture for his own character. Its delight never grows old, its interest never wanes, its stimulus is never exhausted. It is different to a man at each period of his life; but if he is the minister he ought to be, there is no age, from the earliest years when he is his people's brother to the late days when he is like a father to the children on whom he looks down from the pulpit, in which the ministry has not some fresh charm and chance of usefulness to offer to the man whose heart is in it. Let us never think of it in any other way than this. Let us rejoice with one another that in a world where there are a great many good and happy things for men to do, God has given it the best and happiest, and made us preachers of His truth."

If we consider the more specific qualities necessary to the preacher in modern life, three matters are outstanding: His Function, his Message, Himself.

First, the preacher must clearly perceive the main function of the pulpit. There is an opinion, widely held in the pews and not always absent from the pulpit, that the preacher is an orator, and, because of the influence of Greek culture filtering down the years, the sermon a rhetorical production. By this standard the preacher is very often made to stand or fall. It is an unscriptural, false conception of preaching, productive of endless bad sermons, of unintelligent Christians, of poor hearers in the pews and gives young men absolutely wrong standards of judgment concerning the work of the ministry and their own fitness for it, thereby turning from it those who know they cannot meet the tests of oratorical excellence but who none the less would make efficient preachers.

The function of the orator is to inspire; to produce immediate impression and results on the basis of appeal. The function of the rhetorician, to delight the aesthetic sense. This is not the function of the preacher. His business is to secure results but in another way; to arouse not the aesthetic but the spiritual sense.

The preacher is a prophet. In the Hebrew sense of the word, he is not a foreteller of events but a forthputter of truth,

—a function well expressed by Frederick W. Robertson in his sermon on “The Illusiveness of Life.” “To Justify God’s ways to man, to expound the mysteriousness of our present being, to interpret God,—is not this the very essence of the ministerial office?” This conception of preaching so perfectly illustrated by Robertson gave him his remarkable power as a preacher and makes his sermons to this day springs of refreshing to all his successors. The prophet is essentially a teacher. He tells what has been told him. The teacher is a revealer. The preacher is the prophet-teacher whose enduring function is admirably expressed in the lines in which Tennyson in the “Idylls” immortalizes Watt’s ideal of the mission of the true portrait painter.

“As when a painter, poring on a face,
Divinely thro’ all hindrance, finds the man
Behind it, and so paints him that his face,
The shape and colour of a mind and life,
Lives for his children, ever at its best.”

The preacher, “thro’ all hindrance,” is to find God, the Father, and make Him ideal to his children.

The preacher who meets the needs of his age must inscribe these lines upon the fleshly tablets of His heart beside the commandments of the law. To this prophetic ideal, the pulpit must return or, in an age when education is a master passion, it must abdicate its throne and lay aside its royal robes as the historic teacher of men. Drawing sharp distinction between the orator, rhetorician, reformer on the one hand, and the prophet on the other, the preacher who brings his pulpit to its own will leave to the former the passing inspirations and corrections of men and, with the latter, will strive to make them wise unto eternal life. Certainly the prophet is often an orator; but in the pulpit it is the vision and spirit of the prophet which gives permanent value to the orator’s power to inspire, which elevates rhetoric and saves the preacher from the folly and sorrow of the misconception that his business is to secure an audience and win applause. The mission of the preacher is not to entertain men but to save them; not to tell them how to manage their business but how to live; not to make them stop fighting but to fit them to

fight; to create that most splendid work on which the sun shines,—a man ambitious, capable, enthusiastic, battling in the arena of life in the fervor of a moral passion. This, pre-eminently the task of the modern preacher, can be performed only when men, impressed by the note of prophecy in his voice and the authority of it in his message, can say of him, “Behold, a teacher come from God!”

Reviewing the message of the modern preacher, shall we define it in terms of the age he serves or in those of his function or by both? The question is vital and replies may vary. It is logical to believe that his function defines his message. He is to give his age something it does not have. In the words of a modern master, “it is the mighty matter of the Bible and its burthen” which is to form his message. The disturbance of mind in and out of the pulpit as to the authority of the Scriptures, what parts of the Bible can or cannot be preached, need not embarrass the preacher unless his purpose is to give men theology instead of life. So far as the people are concerned, this very agitation about the Bible makes it more than ever interesting to them and the duty and privilege of the preacher more than ever apparent. The present wide use of Scripture texts as points of departure for excursions away from the Bible, the subjective preaching in which the views and feelings of the preacher form the body of the sermon are not Biblical preaching and are a source of grave danger to the pulpit. The use of Biblical thought and method in the sermon and not the use of Scripture language for a text alone is the imperative demand from its prophetic function. Were it not so, the matchless contents of the Scriptures would be the inexhaustible and precious fountain of truth for the preacher’s message. It is also true that the Bible is the book of the people. Abysmal, fathomless though their general ignorance of it is, still around it as around no other unifying interest center their thoughts and lives. It forms, then, a connecting link between the mind of the preacher and the minds of his hearers, between churches of all ages and places, binding together in a community of sympathy and interest all kinds and conditions of men. Through it as by no other medium, the preacher becomes an integral part of the intellectual life of his congregation. To use it as the burden of his

teaching is to reduce to their lowest terms the obstacles in the way of effective preaching; to neglect it is to multiply to that degree, the difficulty of obtaining and holding a hearing. Besides all this, the use of the Bible as his message brings the preacher to his highest level in spirit, vision, thought, expression. Good preaching is the embodiment of the Word of God in the word of the preacher. To the people, this is intelligible, interesting, convincing. On the side of the preacher, it compels scholarship, clarifies thought, sharpens intellect, purifies style, vitalizes theology, gives great themes, modernizes sermons.

On the intellectual side, the preacher who would do his best in his pulpit must, somehow, compass two things. He must discover himself,—his real nature, its highest possibilities, that he may toil wisely and confidently. To use the fine phrase of President King of Oberlin, there is nothing like the Bible “as an aid to self-discovery.” Next, he must co-ordinate his studies lest he become an intellectual blunderbuss, with power of execution just at the muzzle but otherwise uncertain. No serious intellectual work in any way comparable in importance to that of the pulpit is done with so little system. From this, the unity of the Biblical message saves the preacher as it also delivers him from the peril of belittling topics and secures for him the uplift of noble themes. The advertised subject of a vesper sermon in a well-known church of New York City, not long since was, “Ring off, Please.” It was not stated whether there would be an application of the topic to the preacher. In the same favored city, the same evening, a preacher of prominence announced as his theme, “Ten Toes.” From the wording one might have expected an essay on chiropody; perhaps a discourse on corns; possibly an address on Bunyan. It proved to be a rousing sermon on the second coming of Christ. From the danger of drifting into the outer circles of those currents of bad taste of which such topics are typical, Biblical preaching saves the preacher, bearing him on the bosom of its mighty tide in those channels where go the noble thoughts of lofty minds. It gives him the aspects of truth which, in the words of Tennyson’s friend, Arthur Hallam, fit into all the folds of man’s nature. It enables the man of moderate parts to stand unabashed before the intellectual ability which may now be found to a greater or less de-

gree in every congregation, conscious that the greatness of his message clothes him with its dignity and authority. A preacher who knows his Bible as a prophet need never fear the culture of men who know all books except the Bible. They are in the vestibule of truth; he has laid his hand upon its altar. He has for them the message of the altar, without which the voices of libraries and laboratories are those of infants

“crying in the night,
And with no language but a cry.”

If the words of an English essayist are true of the preacher as surely they are, “He must pare religion to the bone and show that the essence of it is a perfectly simple relation with God and neighbor,” it will fall to his lot to expose specific sins, which in the name of religion appear in the pews before him. To do this by direct attack is usually to arouse resentment against the preacher and sympathy for the accused. It leaves the impression of a personal conflict between the man in the pulpit and the man in the pew. But where the message is that of the Bible against the sin, the personal elements are removed and the contest is between the man in the pew and the Judge of all the earth. Then only, truth has a chance to do its work.

From whatever point of view we may consider it, the modern age has not reached the place where stands the Hebrew prophet, the Jewish Paul, the Jesus of Nazareth. The preacher who would lead his age in vision, wisdom, utterance, must stand beside those who lead all ages still, and receive from them his message,—

“The burdens of the Bible old,
The Litanies of nations.”

Finally, and most of all, the place of the pulpit in modern life is determined by the fundamental quality in the life of the preacher.

In his journal, Amiel wrote, “The test of every religious, political or educational system is the man which it produces.” In other words, everything comes back to the man. This is pre-

eminently true of the prophet in the pulpit. Whatever he may possess of equipment or advantage, the secret of his power over his age is, at the last, that expression in the confession of Tholuck, "I have but one passion and that is Christ." Mr. Benson's conception of the priest is eternally correct; "The essence of the priest is that he should believe himself, however humbly and secretly, to be set in a certain sense between humanity and God." These words lead us to the one thing above all others which the preacher must remember. The true preacher preaches his soul. More than seventy years ago Emerson said of the preacher, "He deals out to people his life, life passed through the fire of thought. * * Only he can give who has. He only can create who is. The man on whom the soul descends, through whom the soul speaks, alone can teach. The man who aims to speak as books enable, as synods use, as fashion guides and as interest commands babbles. Let him hush." Blaikie's tribute to David Livingstone, "He showed the minimum of infirmity in connection with the maximum of goodness," great as it is, is not enough to say of the preacher, unless the words are read against the background of a personal devotion noble as that of him who died for Africa. He must have what Schliermacher prized above all he learned from Kant or the Romanticists, the gift of the religious training of his youth in the mystical school of Moravian piety—"the moved heart," that like Herbert's priest to the temple, his every word may be "heart-deep."

What makes a great preacher? It is an interesting, perhaps perplexing question. Appreciating the disinclination of Professor Brastow in his "Representative Modern Preachers" to engage in "vivisection," we may think only of great preachers of the past, who, being dead, yet speak,—the Hebrew Isaiah; the Jewish Paul; the French Bossuet, Massillon, Calvin; among Germans, Schliermacher; in England, F. W. Robertson, Jowett, Dale; of our own countrymen, Finney, Bushnell, Beecher, Brooks. By what word may we explain their power? Genius? Yes, if we remember that genius has been defined as the capacity for hard work. Natural ability? In part. Oratory? No; certainly, not because of oratorical quality in and of itself. However rich their natural endowment, the explanation of their

greatness is, ultimately, in their acquisition of those habits of mind and in that attitude of spirit which all great priests of God have had and which all preachers, if they will, may make their own,—hard worth transfigured and controlled by a pervading spiritual passion. For all such preachers, Finney may stand, who seldom, if ever, spoke of preaching a sermon but whose usual phrase was that in such and such a place he “poured out his soul.” George Eliot gives this as the final explanation of power in the teacher when, in “*The Mill on the Floss*,” she tells how Maggie finds Thomas a *Kempis*. “This voice out of the far off middle ages was the direct communication of a human soul’s belief and experience and came to her as an unquestioned message. I suppose this is the reason why the small old fashioned book, for which you need pay only sixpence at a book-stall, works miracles to this day, turning bitter waters into sweetness. It was written down by a hand that waited for the heart’s promptings; it is the chronicle of a solitary, hidden anguish, struggle, trust and triumph—not written on velvet cushions to teach endurance to those who are treading with bleeding feet on the stones. And so it remains to all time a lasting record of human needs and human consolations.”

The lesson to preachers of to-day from such preachers of yesterday is, that the man who develops a fine soul secures all things. First and most important of all, reality in himself. The characteristic, absorbing quest of modern life is for reality. Turn to what class you will, it is its passion. The first demand upon the preacher is that he seek the reality which is at the heart of all things; that he find God, and in his life and message, be His prophet to his fellows. If he fail in this supreme essential of all great preaching, he fails in everything. The greatest pulpit in the land cannot make him great. If he ring true here, let him be in the humblest pulpit in the land, unknown of men, underestimated by the blind and thoughtless crowd, he is a true preacher, contributing in a way most real to make the pulpit of his age the voice of God to the souls of men.

Such preachers have interpretative ability and reproductive power,—ability to open the casket of Scriptures and reveal within the face of truth; power to reproduce in the present the universal and abiding ideals of righteousness unveiled by proph-

ets, apostles and the Master of them all. "The bundle of possibilities" which, a recent writer says every preacher is at his ordination, touched by the true spirit of his calling, becomes a fire whose flames shed light far out on the paths of bewildered men. These are they who bring the pulpit near the people. It is a profound remark of a writer in the *Hibbert Journal*, "Christ is more precious to us by what distinguishes Him from us than by what identifies Him with us." For the preacher this means that he who occupies the high ground is the only one who gets on the common ground. The soul longing of this age is beyond belief. The preacher who has a vital point of contact with people must meet them on the lofty highway of the soul. His very purposes and aspirations which, by their spirituality, seem to separate him from them, will join him to them and give him power over them.

If the longings and needs of our age could, through one voice, make their demand upon the pulpit of to-day, whatever might be asked in knowledge or natural gifts, the voice would cry in the words of John Wesley, "Give me a humble, gentle lover of God and man; a man full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy, a man laying himself out in the work of faith, the patience of hope and the labour of love!"

I have not spoken of the theology which the pulpit of to-day should hold nor of preaching in keeping with the spirit of the age. The preacher who is clear-eyed in his vision of the great function of the pulpit and its message and whose heart is against the heart of God, will speedily acquire the vocabulary of the prophet which is the vocabulary of all times. It is wise to remember that while our world needs preaching in the present tense, its actual need is not so much, preaching in keeping with the spirit of the age as preaching in keeping with the Spirit of God.

As for theology, important as that is, the mission of the pulpit is to give men not a theology but life. At this point, the important question is not whether the preacher holds an orthodox theology, which has been called "canned theology gone stale," nor whether he has a theology of the other extreme, which might be called theology spoiled in the canning, but whether he has a positive theology wrought out in the process of his daily

toil for man, throbbing with life, continuously revitalized by personal experience, filling out with an ever increasing content of truth, aglow with undying altar fires kindled and fed of God.

Such a preacher has a message people hear and obey. His voice answers the cry of their souls. He speaks his message in language they understand. For the pulpit filled with such preachers there is no decrepitude. In the aging of the ages, it keeps forever fresh and virile through the eternal life of the truth it incarnates, forever standing in advance of the best of its times, the teacher of teachers, the liberator of mind and spirit, guiding men up to that summit where clouds are lost in Light and death in Life.

York, Pa.

ARTICLE X.

A NEW THEORY OF HEBREW ORIGINS.*

BY REV. HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, D.D.

Hebrew origins is as fertile a field for speculation as the fate of the Ten Tribes of Israel. The Hebrews were Semites, but whence did the Semitic race take its rise? Where was it differentiated from other races, and in what environment were its early institutions born? The inquiry is so beset with difficulties as to make it alluring. The evidence with which we have to deal is slight, leaving room for a wide variation of theories. Learned scholars have successively contended that the location of the Semitic cradle-land was north, east, south and west in the Hamito-Semitic world, Babylonia, Arabia, North Africa and now Syria being respectively made the primitive home of this race.

Amurru is a new name in this connection, and this book of Dr. Clay's presents a brand new theory to the scientific world as to the origin of the Northern Semites. The Northern Semites include the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Aramaeans, the Canaanites and the Hebrews. Dr. Clay is not a *parvenu* among Semitic scholars and is therefore not to be condemned to the limbo of scientific sensationalists whose assumptions are in inverse ratio to their knowledge of the original materials and the methods of science. His work in Vols. VIII, IX, X, XIV and XV of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, not to mention his more popular *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, has entitled him to a seat in the council of scholars. His scholarship is acknowledged by even those who differ with him in interpretation, and his election to the newly created chair of Assyriology in Yale University on the Morgan foundation is a recognition which speaks for itself.

*Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites. A Study showing that the Religion and Culture of Israel are not of Babylonian Origin. By Albert T. Clay, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Philology and Archaeology in the University of Pennsylvania. The Sunday School Times Co. Pp. 227. \$1.25, postpaid.

The book is written for two constituencies—for the layman who is interested in archaeology, and for the scientist. By both it will be deemed revolutionary. In the words of an eminent Hebrew jurist, it is more than a book—it is the beginning of a movement. Whatever else may be said about it, it is refreshingly original and self-confident. One has well said, “American biblical scholarship has gone to school so respectfully to German professors that it has unlearned the spirit of independence and originality which in so many other ways is a natural characteristic. Where our scholars are not settled on the lees of hyper-orthodox conservatism they are content to follow the lead of their teutonic masters, and at best to show individuality in overtopping German radicalism.” Whatever may be the final judgment of his book Prof. Clay has the double distinction of challenging a dominant German theory in the field of Hebrew origins and of opposing it with an adequate theory of his own.

The hypothesis which Prof. Clay challenges is “Pan-Babylonism,” which means “Everything is Babylonian.” From Babylon, according to this theory, came the world’s civilization, its letters, its arts, its sciences, its religion. Upon the postulate that Babylonian culture reached its height in the third millennium B. C., every possible connection and similarity of other ancient cultures is resolved into dependence upon Babylon. The Babylonians had elaborate systems of the universe, involving astronomy, mathematics and theology, which furnished the raw material for the finished products of all subsequent culture. Even Homer’s “golden chain” was not of original design but was made after the fashion of the Babylonian Epic of XII, while the stream of Greek art is traced back to a Babylonian spring. The marvel of Hebrew monotheism—the world’s religion coming out of the petty land of Canaan—is a marvel no longer; the Hebrews learned it from the star-gazers of Babylonia who had worked it out of their discoveries of celestial harmony. The so-called legends of Genesis are borrowed Babylonian mythology. The prophets are not the unique men of God we have taken them to be but the subtle political agents of the Assyrian government. There is nothing which this theory can not explain, even Christ and the Trinity are not original with Christianity but are found in this multifarious Babylonian store-house, the passion,

death, resurrection and ascension of our Lord, and the idea of a triune God, being of Babylonian suggestion.

Let us trace the history of this movement a little further. The first advocate of the Babylonian theory of Semitic origins was von Kremer who set forth his views in two articles published in 1875. He reached his results by a comparison of the vocabularies of the different Semitic tongues. Von Kremer was followed by Guidi, Hommel and others, who pushed the comparison of resemblances farther and farther, until, about a decade ago there appeared in Germany a school of critics known as the Pan-Babylonian or Astral-Mythological school. The real founder of this school was Prof. Winckler of Berlin. In a series of contributions from his pen following his *Geschichte Israels* Vol. II, which was published in 1900, he unfolded his theory of the universe:—The world consists of heaven and earth. The heavens are subdivided into the northern heavens, the zodiac and the heavenly ocean. The earthly part of the universe also consists of a three-fold division, the heavens, the earth and the waters beneath the earth. In this system the signs of the zodiac play the important part, for the planets as they passed through the heavens enabled the astrologers to interpret the will of their deities. * * The heavens, corresponding to the earth, reflect their influence upon it, with the result that everything in heaven has its counterpart on earth, presided over by earthly kings, who as representatives of the gods are considered their incarnations. The heavens reveal the past, the present and the future for those who can read them. * * * Astrology, therefore, was the all-important test and interpreter of ancient history. All ancient nations, including Israel, practiced it, and were influenced by it. The periodic changes in the positions of the heavenly bodies gave rise to certain sacred numbers. These Winkler used to show the bearing of the Babylonian astral-mythology upon things Israelitish. According to his views, not only is the Israelitish cult dependent upon Babylonian originals, but also the patriarchs and other leaders of Israel, such as Joshua, Gideon, Saul, David, and others, are sun or lunar mythological personages. Abraham and Lot are the same as the *Gemini*, called by the Romans Castor and Pollux. Abraham, together with his wife, who was also his sister, are forms of *Tammuz* (who was a solar god) and

Ishtar, the former being the brother and the bridegroom of the latter. As *Ishtar* was the daughter of *Sin*, the moon-god, Abraham must be a moon-god; for he went forth from Ur to Haran, two places dedicated to that deity. Many circumstances of the myths concerning Abraham corroborate this. The 318 men who were Abraham's allies, in Gen. xiv, are the 318 days in the year when the moon is visible. All Babylonian gods were represented by numbers. Kirjath-arba, the one center of Abraham myths, means "the city of Arba, or four." *Arba* must then be the moon-god which has four phases. Beersheba, "the seven wells," another center with which the Abraham myths were identified, also represents the moon, because there are seven days in each phase of the moon. Isaac, who lived at Beersheba, must, therefore, be a moon deity. The four wives of Jacob show that he also is the same. His twelve sons are the twelve months. Leah's seven sons are the gods of the week. The twelve hundred pieces of silver which Benjamin received represent a multiple of the thirty days of the month; and the five changes of garments that he received are the five intercalary days of the Babylonian year. In Joseph, Winckler sees a sun-myth. Esau is the same, as is shown by his redness. The stories of Moses, Joshua (who is another form of Moses), Ehud, Gideon, are sun-myths. In David there is more evidence of a solar origin than in all other biblical characters. Solomon and the others are similarly explained.

Professor Zimmern of Leipsic, who also belongs to this school, pays more attention to analogies than to the recurrence of numbers. The incorporation of the Babylonian creation story in the Old Testament shows that in Israel the writer considered Yahweh to be identical with Marduk, the chief god of the Babylonian pantheon. Later these same elements of the Marduk cult were applied to Christ by the Christian Jews. The story of the birth of Christ has its origin in the fabled birth of Marduk. Babylonian elements are also found in the regal office of Christ, as well as in His passion. * * His death is suggested by that of Marduk and Tammuz; and the idea of His descent into Hades comes from the goddess *Ishtar*'s descent. The resurrection is a repetition of Marduk and Tammuz myths.

Then the venerable Professor Jensen of Marburg, not to be

outdone by these younger hotspurs, in a ponderous work issued in 1906, entitled *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, finds the origin of the biblical characters from Abraham down to Christ, including John the Baptist, in this Babylonian collection of sun-myths. The Gospels he calls "Mythographs." Every reference to biblical characters in the ancient monuments is explained away; and Jensen rather exultantly exclaims: "The old Israelitish history, the history of Jesus, has collapsed, and the apostolic history has exploded. Babylon has laid Babylon in ruins"—evidently meaning that the discoveries which have been used to establish the historical value of the Old Testament are now used to show that the foundations upon which Christian theology and Jewish theology rest are borrowed from Babylonian mythology.

This Babylonian theory was modified and popularized by Dr. Alfred Jeremias of Leipzig, and Fr. Delitzsch of Berlin, whose plausible and eloquent lectures before Emperor William in 1903, published under the title of "Babel and Bible," filled the reading world with commotion.

The German savants who belong to this school have their counterparts, in degree at least, in England in such scholars as Driver and Sayce, and in this country, in Haupt, Barton and Rogers. While conceding the dependence of the culture of Israel upon Babylonia, these scholars have been engaged, for the most part, in paring down and popularizing the theory, saving what could be saved from the general wreck. One American Assyriologist, it is true, out-Herods Herod. Dr. Hugo Radau, who since 1905 has been acting as Prof. Hilprecht's special Assyriological assistant, not only finds in Bel the prototype of Christ, but in the Babylonian trinity the prototype of the Christian. It may be interesting to take a glimpse at this reduction process in operation: "Marduk (the Babylonian Bel) is the god of light—and Christ is 'the light of the world.' He was therefore made to have been born on the 25th of December—the festival of light—when the days begin to lengthen again and thus save the world from falling into utter darkness. Marduk was the light as a 'life-giving principle;' he died, and was in the grave three double months (i. e. during the six months of winter), but rose again in the spring, on the first of Nisan, when he

acquired new life, new strength, new power and entered into a wedlock with Mother Earth, his wife, i. e., with Tsarpanitum or Ishtar. Christ, too, died, and was put into the grave where he was for three days, but had to rise again on Easter—the festival of Ishtar. By his resurrection he demonstrated that he, like Marduk, had overcome the powers of darkness (=the old dragon, the serpent!) and had entered upon his kingly rulership, and thus became the *bel balati*, ‘the lord of life.’ Marduk, however, not only rose himself, but forced, by entering into wedlock with Mother Earth, this latter *to give up her dead*. This also Christ, if he really wanted to show that there began with *his* resurrection also *his kingly rulership* upon earth, *had* to force the earth to give up her dead—therefore it is said:

And behold the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent;

And the graves were opened; and many *bodies of the saints* which slept *arose*,

And came out of the graves *after his resurrection*, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.

This proves, more than anything else, that there was transferred to Christ all that originally belonged to Marduk.” (Radau).

Similarly it is shown to a nicety that the Christian Trinity is patterned after the Nippurian prototype: *Enlil* (“Father”), *Erish* or *Nin-ib* (“Son”) and *Ninlil* (“Mother”)!

So much for Pan-Babylonism. It will not do simply to scoff at it. It is not to be laughed out of court, for the preponderance of Old Testament scholarship has been favorable to it—at least to a degree. Stout voices in scientific opposition, it is true, have not been wanting. Even Radau admits that the majority of Assyriologists find the religion of Babylonia from first to last polytheistic. Its forms of worship are superstitious. The civilization of Babylonia was not in advance of that of the Greeks; and now we are discovering, on the authority of Kugler, Jastrow and others, that its cosmic theories are too young to have informed the whole world’s philosophy. Moreover, archaeology has been ominously silent when appealed to in support of the Babylonian hypothesis. “While an argument *e silentio* is precarious,” says Professor Clay, “the absence of astronomi-

cal inscriptions of the character that is supposed to have influenced Israel is strikingly significant."

What is more significant is the absence of such an astral conception of the universe from the Old Testament. The Mosaic law has explicit injunctions against astrology, hepatoscopy and other Babylonian practices. But Dr. Clay is not satisfied with arguments like this, though he musters quite a formidable array of them. In his own words, "it is not the purpose of this discussion to take down one stone after another and submit them to an examination, and so endeavor to reduce the height and keep the building within proper proportions, but it is the purpose to examine carefully the very foundation stones of the structure." The theory, he believes, is fundamentally wrong. He denies it in the name of science, and, so far as our knowledge goes, he is the first to go into the court of science and in the name of science ask for an injunction against it.

The major premise of his argument is the one that gives the book its title: The Semites of Babylonia and Assyria came from Amurru (Syria and Palestine), the Westland, the land of the Amorites, that mysterious race which the Hebrews dispossessed in Canaan. There the Amurru people flourished, there they developed their peculiar civilization and religion, and these they took with them when they migrated eastward; so that in all matters of common Semitic tradition the western is to be looked upon as the earlier. The first half of the book is occupied with an analysis of the alleged Babylonian character of the early chapters of Genesis. The second half of the book is occupied with the technical proofs of the author's position. He studies one after another of the Babylonian deities, and establishes for many of them their western origin. Thus the leading Assyrian gods, Ashur and Adad and Ramman, are doubtless western and their names survive in the place-names of Syria and Canaan. The book abounds in interesting arguments and in startling and sweeping etymologies. Perhaps the most interesting, and that which gives title to the book, is the discussion of the word Amurru. For this is not merely the name of a people and its land but primarily the name of that people's god, by which it entitled itself, even as the Assyrians called themselves after their god Ashur. The author holds that this divine name, which ap-

pears in many linguistic modifications, as *Ur*, *Amar*, *Bir*, *Urra*, &c, is native to the westland, being largely represented there in the vocabulary of proper names (*Uriel*, *Meribbaal*, &c.,) and in some very important city names, e. g., *Jerusalem*, the original form of which was *Uru-shalem*—the first name Prof. Clay taking as the name of the Amorite deity, or the Amorite land; the second, the proper name of the city, just as we should speak of *Aram-Damascus* (or *Pennsylvania-Bethlehem*!) an explanation which Prof. Montgomery pronounces by all odds the most satisfactory yet advanced.

Amurru was the land of the “setting sun,” *Ur* (*Amurru*) being the sun god, who could indifferently appear under one of those forms, or as *Shemesh*, the sun. The author goes further and carries the warfare into the enemy’s country by finding this element in *Marduk*, the great deity of the capital city *Babylon*, who under *Hammurabi* became the head of the pantheon, supplanting *Ellil*, lord of lands. The first element in *Marduk* in *Babylonian* is *Amur* (*Amur-uduk*), bearing on the face of it its western origin. The deity is not known in the Hebrew of the early period, and with one exception it does not occur in the *Tel-el-Amarna* letters, the name being taken in them by words or idiograms which mean the sun-god. Moreover the whole body of early *Babylonian* legend is saturated with forms drawn from the name of this imported deity. One of the stock arguments of the *Babylonian* school has been the names of the antediluvian patriarchs of *Genesis*, which they have been claiming were borrowed from the antediluvian mythological kings in the list handed down by *Berosis*. (See *Driver’s Genesis*, p. 78 ff.).

<i>Genesis</i>	<i>Berosis</i>	<i>Babylonian Equivalent</i>
Adam	Aloros	Aruru
Seth	Alaporus	Alap-uru
Enoch	Amelon	Amel-uru
Cainan	Ammenon	Ummanu
		(No such name found.)
Mahalalel	Amegalarus	Amil-Aruru
Jared	Daonus
Enosh	Edoranchus	En-me-dur-an-ki
		(Sumerian name.)
Methuselah	Amemphsinus	Amel-sin (?)
Lamech	Otiartes	Ubar-tutu
Noah	Xisuthrus	UT-napishtim

The view that has been generally held about these names is that "a learned priest secured these legends from the Babylonians while in exile; that he translated the names into Hebrew, and appropriated the list for the history of his race." Not to speak of what this conclusion involves—that the Jews permitted an extensive influence to be exerted upon them by a polytheistic people who had robbed them of their liberty and heaped upon them untold indignities; that they adopted at this time as their antecedents these mythological kings of Babylonia who, Berosus tells us, ruled on an average, four hundred and thirty-two thousand years; that they wrote in Old Hebrew when Aramaic was the *lingua franca*—the name of the chief deity of the Amorites, here written *Oros* and *Aurus*, figures in five of the ten names. The very names themselves seem to be of western origin; in fact, the first one, El-Or occurs as the name of an eminent deity in a recently discovered Zakir monument.

The author's study of the names and epitaphs of Assyrian and Babylonian deities is equally interesting. Ashur, the chief Assyrian god can be traced etymologically and geographically in the biblical tribe Asher and the Canaanite goddess Ashirta, the biblical Ashera. Essentially west-Semitic are Nebo, Dagan, and even the mythological Lachamu, which appears in the two Palestine Bethlehems. Almost all the sun deities of the eastern Semites are connected with the west. Thus the god Ninib, as he has heretofore been known, who with the clearer light furnished by the author, is to be called En-Mashtu, is directly associated with the mythical mountain of the setting sun, Mash, which the Babylonians placed in the west land. This word suggests Gilgamesh, the hero of the Babylonian epic, the last syllable of whose name connects him with that legend of western origin. This line of inquiry further suggests an interpretation of the city name Damascus, which has heretofore defied explanation. "It seems that Damascus must be *Qui-Mash-qi*," says Prof. Clay, "which figures so prominently in the inscriptions of Gudea and Dungi. This city is usually considered to be in Arabia, but the scene of Dungi's operations were chiefly in Amurru. In the absence of any proof that *Ki* or *Qi* is Semitic this would mean that the name of the city as known in cuneiform was or became the name of the city. In the inscription of Gudea *KA-GAL-*

AD-KI is the mountain of *QI-MASH*, which is also called the mountain of copper. Perhaps the name means gate (*KA-GAL*) of copper (*AD?*); at least *AD-HAL* means copper. This idea of a gate reminds us of the gate of the setting sun in the Gilga-Mesh epic at the mountain *Mashu*; and also the passage, Zech. 6:1, where it says the four chariots passed between two mountains of brass. Damascus is east of Hermon and southeast of an offshoot of the Anti-Lebanon, perhaps such a location where the idea of a gate of the setting sun, referred to in the Gilga-Mesh epic, would arise. It may be that the gate was formed by Mount Hermon and Mount Lebanon. But more important is the fact that there were copper mines east of the Lebanon range * * The city along side of *Mash* would probably be called 'City of Mash.' Then follows the technical argument in support of the explanation.

Dr. Clay throws new light upon every subject he touches. Take the creation story, of whose derivation from the Babylonian original Semitic scholars quite generally have been of one mind. "The priestly author that wrote the first chapter of Genesis," says Delitzsch in his insinuating way, "took infinite pains to eliminate all mythological features from his story of the creation of the world. But since his story begins with the gloomy, watery chaos which bears precisely the same name as Tiamat, namely *Tehom*, * * it will be seen that there is a very close relationship between the biblical and the Babylonian story of the creation of the world." That similarity between *Tiamat* and *Tehom* is the one philological connection between the two creation stories. But while this word occurs in the Babylonian only in this special name it is a common word in the biblical literature; hence the loan has been from the west eastwards, not vice versa.

In the Flood Story, common to both bodies of tradition, there has been even more confidence of the dependence of the biblical upon a Babylonian archetype. "It is quite clear," says Rogers, "that the material of the Hebrew narrative goes back undoubtedly to the Babylonian original." The proof for this is the flood story of the Gilgamesh series. It is admitted that the flood story of Genesis has features which are distinctively Palestinian, e. g., "Noah," "the olive leaf," "the ark." These,

it is claimed, made their appearance after the story reached Palestine and was appropriated by the Hebrews. Dr. Clay calls attention to the fact that "Noah" is not a distinctively Palestinian, but a Babylonian name, while the pilot of the Babylonian ark bears a west Semitic name; the "olive leaf" is not simply typically Palestinian but typically Syrian; the hero of the Babylonian story was directed by a point connected with the mountain *Mashu*, which we have seen was probably the Lebanon range, while his ark lands in Armenia, nearer to Syria than to Babylonia. The so-called "clear case" is not so clear as has been claimed.

Light is also thrown upon the Sabbath. The majority of Assyriologists have reached the conclusion that not only "the word Sabbath is Babylonian indeed," (Rogers), but that "the Sabbath rest was essentially of Babylonian origin" (Sayce). Dr. Clay shows that the word *shabbatum* means "appeasement (of the gods), expiation, penitential prayer," from a root which means "to conciliate." But there is no evidence warranting Delitzsch's assumption (*Babel and Bibel*), that there was a "cessation of work, keeping holiday," or that there was rest from human labor. "This UD-HUL-GAL, or 'evil day,'" says Clay, "observed not every seven days, but according to the lunar month, was not a rest day for the people. * * There were some superstitious requirements made of the king on that day, but not of the common people. The investigations of Johns (of Cambridge) show that in the Assyrian period (720-606 B. C.) the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth days do not show any marked absence from business transactions. The nineteenth day, however, does. * * It seems to have been a kind of holiday." His summing up of the case is as follows: "The Sabbath as a day of rest, observed every seven days, has not been found in Babylonian literature. While the hemerology of the late Assyrian period has preserved a knowledge of a regulation involving the king and his officials on the 7th, the 14th, the 21st, the 28th, and the 19th days of *two months*¹ in the year, which days were regarded as 'evil days' and were to be observed according to certain restrictions in order to appease the gods, it cannot even be justifiably assumed at the present time

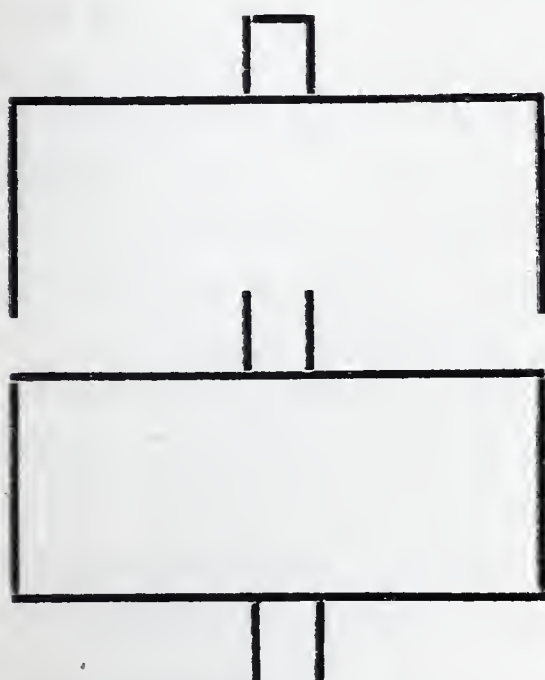
1 Italics ours.

(except perhaps for the 19th day) that there was any cessation from business of any kind or that there was a rest day for the people."

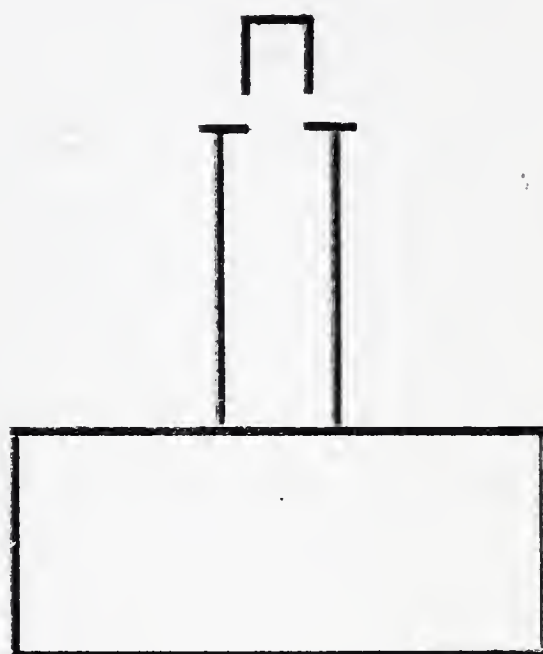
But this must suffice to show the method and the scope of the book. What will be its effects? That of course is purely conjectural. Prof. Clay's thesis is revolutionary—it calls for reckoning not only from the Pan-Babylonists but also from the current understanding of ancient Semitic history—and it will probably be hotly contested. It is admitted by all reviewers that Prof. Clay has not failed in furnishing a tremendous apparatus of detailed and cumulative proof. It is the opinion of those scholars whose reviews have been accessible that many of the conclusions will stand. "He argues and proves," says Dr. William Hayes Ward, "that western influences and western gods came with western conquests into Babylonia." As yet the thesis lacks the proof which only archaeology can furnish, but the work of archaeology is yet to be done in Syria, whereas the objection of the entire absence of biblical classical names from the cuneiform literature belonging to the patriarchal age has been met by the discovery by Ungnad of the name of Abraham written in three different ways in the tablets from Tell-Deilam (i. e., Dilbat), about twenty miles south of Babylon, which are now in the Berlin Museum. West Semitic names abound in Babylonian tablets of the time, furnishing proof of a greater antiquity than has usually been accorded them. Whether Dr. Clay has established that the ancestral home of Abraham was the Chaldean town near the city of Sippar bearing the west Semitic name of 'Ur, known in the time of the first Babylonian dynasty but afterwards lost from view, or not, he has, in the opinion of his associates, destroyed the identity of Ur with Mughayyer in Southern Babylonia, which has been accepted since Rawlinson.

A fresh bit of corroborative evidence has come to light in the discovery of the remains of an old temple to the gods *Anu-Adad* near the ancient city of Assur, in Assyria, by the German Oriental Society. *Anu* is the ancient native solar deity, while *Adad* is the Aramaic (Amurru) storm-god, also a solar deity. The temple differs in marked particulars from the conventional Babylonian temples, and dates back to 2,000 B. C. Its type is

distinctively Phoenician, and it is thought by Andrea to furnish the pattern of Solomon's temple. A similar temple-plan was discovered at Khorsabad (Ninevah). These ruins point strongly to western influence at a very early period. It may yet be that when the mountains of Syria reveal their secrets devout Bible readers will be confirmed in their belief that their souls have refreshed themselves at an original fountain and not been drinking a muddy Babylonian river.



Conventional Babylonian Temple



Temple of Anu-Adad

The temple of Anu-Adad had a tower (*ziggurat*), and it is interesting to note in this connection that the Babylonian *ziggurat* is itself a witness to western influence. The Bible writer tells us (Gen. xi, 2) of the movements of the Semites from the west. "As they journeyed east they found a plain in the land of Shinar." Here these mountaineers used "brick instead of stone," to which they had been accustomed in their native land, and "bitumen" instead of "mortar." These mountain dwellers, when they came to build their temples, beside the temple proper, in which the worshippers assembled, attached to each a tower of from three to seven stories, provided either with a sloping ascent leading around each story like a winding mountain road, or having a staircase from one story to the next. "The main purpose served by these towers," says Jastrow, was "to erect something that would be impressive by its height, pointing in the direction of being imitators of mountain peaks. * * The

idea of erecting a sacred edifice in imitation of a mountain must have been introduced by some group which, before settling in the flat Euphrates Valley (which is absolutely devoid of hills, and where not even a stone is found to serve as building material), must have lived in a mountainous country."

Altogether this volume is to be welcomed as a refreshing disturber of a very confident theory of ancient history, making it necessary to rewrite some of the chapters which were counted closed, compelling historians to recognize the originality of Israel instead of reducing it to a mere purveyor of borrowed notions. The Babylonian theory leaves the book of Genesis a greater historical mystery than is warranted by a frank reading of its annals. We are encouraged in differing radically from those who, like Prof. Rogers, say "that the first eleven chapters of Genesis in their present form, as also in the original documents into which modern critical research has traced their origin, bear eloquent witness to Babylonia as the old home of the Hebrew people, and of their collection of sacred stories." The tide of Pan-Babylonism is receding. Already some of its foremost advocates are revising their claims. This book will hasten the revision and it is not unlikely that when the strand is once more shining white beneath our feet we shall see that our author was the doughty Canute who said:

"Thus far shalt thou come but no farther
And here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

Philadelphia, Pa.

ARTICLE XI.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I. IN ENGLISH.

BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

The language of the New Testament is always an interesting topic. Dr. Super's article in the present number of the *QUARTERLY* bears witness to this. In the January number of *The Princeton Theological Review*, Professor Angus of Hartford, treats the subject quite exhaustively. He holds that the expression "New Testament Greek" while a convenient and practical designation, is unscientific and misleading if the impression be made that it is Greek unlike that which was current. "The Koine, the Language of the New Testament," was practically the vernacular Greek of the period when the New Testament was written. This was the language of commerce and intercourse throughout the Roman Empire. This Hellenistic Greek lent itself admirably to become the vehicle of Christianity both because of its universality and its facility of expression. Providentially artistic and polished Attic Greek was passed by and the common, spoken language was chosen to become the medium of profound truth and the means of reaching the vast multitudes in the empire.

The Harvard Theological Review for January prints Dr. A. C. McGiffert's lecture on the Dudleian foundation, delivered at Harvard last May. Judge Dudley endowed a lectureship in 1750, the purpose of which is "The Detecting and Convicting and Exposing the Idolatry of the Romish Church," &c. The lecturer treats his subject historically and not polemically. His theme is "*Modernism and Catholicism*." He shows that the so-called modernist movement is a very complicated phenomenon, which cannot be embraced within the compass of a single formula or a single philosophy. Roman modernism and Protestant liberalism are both the outgrowth of the same general situation;

both endeavor to adjust theology to the modern world. "What has long been happening in Protestantism has now begun to happen to Catholicism." Yet the Catholic modernist is by no means a Protestant. He feels that the Catholic Church is yet the true Church and that his mission is within that fold. The gist of modernism may be detected in the attitude of its advocates on Biblical and historical criticism. In this field some are quite as radical as the most radical Protestants. The modernists are opposed to the position of the traditionalists in the realm of theology and religion. God is thought of as immanent in man and in the world and is to be apprehended through experience rather than through a fixed revelation. Dogmas are valuable only as far as they bear practically on moral and religious life. The Kantian philosophy is dominant. Fichte, Ritschl and pragmatists in general are influential. Most of the modernists emphasize the social element in religion and all are opposed to absolutism in religion and consequently to ultramontaniam.

Father Tyrrell, recently deceased, denounced the amazing assumptions of the pope over against the rights of the bishops, whom he considers as of the same rank. The pope is only *primus inter pares*. Moreover, even the bishops derive their authority from the people as a whole. Departure from this fundamental Christian principle may be traced to the fathers of the second century, who first began to locate authority in the bishops rather than in the whole Church. The repudiation of Romish authority is Protestantism, pure and simple. It was exactly the position of Luther. But why does the modernist not become a Protestant? "He remains a Catholic because Catholicism means to him collectivity over against individualism, unity over against the atomistic." He also dislikes Protestantism because of its teaching that absolute authority must be sought in the inspired Bible. Moreover, he regards Protestantism as being "unhistorical," that is schismatic and not connected organically with the Church of the early ages. Then too, Protestantism is too divisive, and has no great single ideal of the Kingdom of God on earth. The Catholic Church on the contrary is a unit, and as a power for the realization of the Kingdom "incomparably superior to any or all of the Protestant sects."

Dr. Carus, the editor of *The Monist*, pays his respects, in the

January number, to Professor James and Pragmatism as follows: The difficulty of understanding pragmatism is greatly increased to outsiders, to intellectualists as they are called, to rationalists, to monists, and to the whole crowd of anti-pragmatists by the brilliant dicta of Professor James, who in his zeal sometimes makes statements which he does not mean and which he offers only as an olive branch to please antagonists or to gain their good will.

The January number of *The Review and Expositor* is made up of the interesting addresses delivered last September at the Jubilee Celebration of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. Among these addresses that of Dr. Augustus H. Strong of Rochester, on "The Present Outlook in Theology," is perhaps the most interesting to the Church at large. He professes his willingness to accept gratefully "all that Higher Criticism can prove with regard to the origin and development of Scripture and all that modern science can prove with regard to the origin and development of man, believing that this evolution is a theistic evolution, with Christ as its agent and goal." He protests, however, against the perversion of the theory of evolution by those who would deduce from it the idea that all things are in a state of perpetual change or flux, including even Him whom the Scriptures declare to be without variation or shadow of turning. He is convinced that this mistaken evolutionism, which is a menace to Christian theology, is bad metaphysics, bad ethics and bad theology. It is bad metaphysics because it starts out from physical nature with its constant changes or "becoming" instead of from the soul of man with its abiding personal identity. Viewed thus the universe is seen to have back of it the presence and power of the unchangeable one.—"This philosophy of becoming is bad ethics, as well as bad metaphysics. It gives us the ethics of Pragmatism" which teaches that truth and right are simply what works well. "Conscience is only ripened expediency and altruism is only egoism perfected." But this leaves us without any standard of right or of truth. "It is an outgrowth of the sensational philosophy, which holds that as the world consists of sensations, so the soul consists of states of consciousness—

thoughts without a thinker, psychology without a soul, a string of beads without any string.—This philosophy of becoming is also bad theology. There is no finality; God is evanescent; the Bible shows the gropings of the human spirit after an ever-flying goal. Christ and Christianity are as temporary as was Judaism. “God’s reaching down to man in incarnation and atonement gives place to man’s vain reaching upward to an impersonal and unknown spirit of the universe, that ever eludes his grasp and yet ever lures him on.” This theory destroys the immutable Christ and all hope of immortality.

The death of Father Tyrrell, the leading Catholic Modernist in England, called forth in the *Hibbert Journal* several laudations of his character and a notice of his *Christianity at the Cross-Roads*. A pervert like Cardinal Newman, Tyrrell strongly reminds one of him in his ardor and in the courage and beauty of his language. His swan-song dispels all hope of reconciliation with Protestantism, with which he manifests no sympathy. The Roman Church still remains for him the true Church, especially when once willing to accept the results of criticism. “Father Tyrrell presents us with a sad and saddening picture of the Founder of Christianity—a picture which will give great pain to nearly all Christian readers. Happily it is easy to prove that, as a matter of history, it is radically untrue.” Neither Protestantism nor Catholicism has a place for the Modernist of the Tyrrell type. He can not long maintain it nor found another sect. He will crop out here and there to utter his brief word and then pass away.

In the January number of the *Hibbert Journal* Dr. Edward

König of Bonn, argues that faith and knowledge are not enemies but friends, each supplementing the work of the other. In their ever-living and mutual co-operation the human spirit will alone find true satisfaction and the human heart perfect harmony. He says, “I, for one, belong to those who dispute the criticism that faith often refers to uncertain elements of tradition, and can, on that account, be looked upon as a drink from a dark stream. Has a believer, I would ask, not the right to retrace the current of tradition back to its fountain-head? Nay, is it

not even his bounden duty so to do? Faith in its fulfillment must drive us back to the direct assurances of the prophets, who in those speeches of theirs which are admittedly genuine confront us as man to man. * * * So again faith must drive us back to the testimony of Jesus Christ. * * Now when faith is thus forced upwards to its original fountain-heads, we can well afford to ignore the abuse heaped upon it."

Knowledge is not a whit better grounded than faith, if as well. Its sphere often passes over into the region of hazardous generalizing or dreamlike surmise.

President Faunce of Brown University in the January *American Journal of Theology*, discusses "The Religious Function of Public Worship." He deplores the apparent decay of attendance at Church. He declares that a disinclination to assemble for public worship exists not only among the irreligious but also among the devout. "The paradoxical situation of the Church to-day is that never before was there so deep a sense of moral values as now, never so great a desire for collective action, and yet, never before so little inclination to join in expressing collective values in the ordered acts of public worship." Yet deep in human nature lies the necessity for congregational worship and only in union do we achieve highest vision and victory. These great possibilities are rarely realized because of certain faults in the form of worship. Of these the most common to-day are *crudity* and *fragmentariness*. Crudity pertains to a lack of proper expression in the reading of the Scriptures, a misconception and abuse of prayer often addressed to men rather than to God, "the performance of the choir" with its "impertinent" music, and lack of reverence in the administration of the Sacraments, especially the introduction of the separatistic individual cup. All these things offend refined and sensitive souls. This arraignment, we believe, does not pertain to our Lutheran Churches. Fragmentariness, however, our author declares to be a greater offense than crudity. Worship must appeal to the whole man—intellect, emotions, and will. Puritanism addressed the intellect alone. It recognized only one way of approach to the city of Mansoul. New England to-day with half of its modern population of the Latin race, is in a state of

bewilderment. The service of the meeting-house is quite unintelligible to these people of foreign birth whose hearts long "for fervor and color and symbol and pageant." "The position of the Puritan and the Quakers is a reform against nature." "There are three essential qualities in all worship—sincerity, a close relation of the ritual to the life which is to follow, and a vivid sense of the presence of the infinite." The Church must approach men in every possible legitimate way. It should encourage architecture, painting, and sculpture as servants of the religious feeling. It should utilize the universal literature. It should welcome scientific research. It should avail itself of all religious symbols, as often succeeding where other language fails.

II. IN GERMAN.

BY PROFESSOR ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, A.M., B.D.

Apart from the excellent work on Zahn's Commentary little effort is being applied at present to the scientific detailed exegesis of the New Testament. There seems to be a growing tendency for scholarship to leave the Bible for the time being and to devote itself to the investigation of other religious systems in the hope of returning sometime to a better understanding of the religion of the Bible itself. At any rate this tendency is decided and unmistakable among the younger generation of theologians today. In order to bring themselves into prominence and to gain a place among New Testament scholars, they almost without exception deem it necessary to make some contribution obtained on the territory of comparative religions. Such has been the influence of the historico-religious school of theology. And almost impossible are the demands which this school in some of her representatives, (e. g., Paul Fiebig, *Die Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Forschung in der Gegenwart*, 1909), makes of the New Testament exegete. He must of course be an expert orientalist in the broadest sense of the word. Then too, he ought to be thoroughly acquainted with the religious history of the period from 300 B. C. to 300 A. D., not only of Palestine, Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, but also of Babylonia, Syria, Persia, and if possible of India. The inherent

dangers, therefore, of this method are two: on the one hand a vain delusive specialism, on the other a hasty superficial dilettantism, a broad shallowness in which one may jump to conclusions without much personal danger. Not a few of the positive theologians (e. g., A. Jeremias, *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*), while rejecting the epistemological presuppositions of the religio-historical school and without abandoning the traditional method of penetrative historico-philological interpretation of the Bible, nevertheless manifest a willingness to employ the method of comparative religions to a certain extent in New Testament hermeneutics, but never in application to the interpretation of Christ's person. The beginnings and essence of New Testament Christology, they maintain, can never be explained as elementarily existent in pre-Christian and extra-Biblical religions. The effect of this method—once it has become older and more mature and has been seasoned and tempered and reduced to its proper proportions—will inevitably be wholesome, for it will serve to bring out into bold relief and establish on a firmer basis than ever the absoluteness of the religion of the New Testament. Meanwhile many are the pamphlets, essays, and magazine articles that are filled with this discussion of the methods and principles of New Testament interpretation.

With reference to the literary character of the New Testament writings Heinrici of Leipzig has spoken an interesting word in *Der literarische Character der neutestamentlichen Schriften*. While Deissmann has for some time over-emphasized the humble social station of the primitive Christians and the purely personal and occasional character of Paul's letters as the key to the understanding of the New Testament writings, (*vide Licht vom Osten*, second edition 1909), Heinrici finds these writings thoroughly unique and utterly inexplicable from the outward circumstances attending their origin; and while Johannes Weiss has placed undue accent upon the oratorical training and the rhetorically finished style of the Apostle Paul (*Die Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft der Gegenwart, et al.*), Heinrici bases the uniqueness and potency of his epistles upon quite different grounds. His conclusion in the whole matter is this: "The investigation of the literary forms of the New Testament writings has led to results not altogether

uniform. Acts shows the closest relation to hellenistic literature, the Apocalypse to late-Jewish. Second, Peter and Jude represent undercurrents containing both hellenistic and late-Jewish elements. James' epistle shows dependence both upon the hellenistic diatribe and upon Old Testament and evangelical wisdom. But the peculiar scriptural type presented by the Gospels and the apostolic letters grew out of the new needs of the Church while it was in the process of formation. When we consider the general character of all the writings we observe great stylistic dependence and very many points of contact with contemporaneous literary efforts, but the manner in which they are employed and made efficacious renders unmistakable their absolute uniqueness and brings out into bold relief the new spirit of primitive Christian literature. * * * The investigation of the literary character of the New Testament writings has led throughout to the conclusion that the unique circumstances attending the origin of Christianity called into being a unique literary type. * * The character of the New Testament writings demands that they be judged not by an aesthetic but by religious standards." This new utterance of Heinrici's, it is to be hoped, will serve to check somewhat the present undue tendency to explain the literature of the New Testament as the mere natural product of various contemporaneous conditions. The form of New Testament literature can of course only be fully understood and appreciated in the light of its connection with judaistic and hellenistic culture, but these purely historical connections can by no means account for the uniquely dynamic character and the permanent efficacy of the writings or for the origin of Christianity.

Closely related to this question concerning the literary character of the New Testament writings but quite distinct from it because more general is the question concerning the relation of hellenistic-roman culture to Judaism and Christianity. On this subject Wendland has recently attracted wide notice by his "*Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zum Judentum und Christentum*," which appears as one volume of the New Testament Commentary edited by Lietzmann. This commentary, be it remarked in passing, will probably be ranked with second-class commentaries such as the moderately critical Meyer

and the thoroughly modern present-day Bible by J. Weiss and others, for while utilizing the many results of the giant strides of recent philology and bringing many a ray of light from the inscriptions and papyri, and opening many a vista into the Church Fathers and the Koine, the Lietzmann commentary is nevertheless too often lost in details of philological and archeological problems utterly neglecting important questions of introduction, and so cannot fulfill the same function as the highly critical commentary edited by Holtzmann or the thoroughly positive work by Zahn. But Wendland's volume is especially worthy of notice because of its thoroughness and because it deals with a subject which has long been of general interest. We may quote his conclusion: "Christ's preaching bears no relation to hellenism. The problems and thoughts of the spiritual culture obtaining in the Graeco-Roman world did not enter his field of vision. * * * Moreover, Graeco-Roman civilization is foreign to primitive Christianity. Christianity and world-culture are quantities which primarily bear no inner relation to each other. This is the reason for the unavoidable impression that the Gospel is a closed unity with immediate natural power and abiding freshness and with an utter disregard of all other claims. True, a striking resemblance may often be observed not only in individual sentences but often also in the general tenor and temperament, between the proclamation of Jesus and the thought-world of Graeco-Roman religion and philosophy. But these similarities dare never be regarded as derivations or marks of dependence. Even where individual utterances resemble each other we must distinguish the final motives and the ultimate principles which brought them forth. The type of piety which Jesus taught men both by precept and by life denotes the most complete simplification of religion and its application to the most profound depths of the inner life and just there lies the new and incomparable in Christianity. It makes the question concerning the salvation of the soul the all-important issue beside which all other interests and cares sink into comparative insignificance. Christianity gives mankind a decided course not towards the world but toward God." Thus the tendency of current opinion seems to be to revert from the view once spread broadcast through Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* to deny any deri-

vation of intrinsic Christian content from hellenistic philosophy and to assert in firm accents the absolute independence of the Christian system.

From among most recent literature concerning Luther (*vide* LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. XXXIX, p. 241), we mention Wilhelm Walther's "*Die christliche Sittlichkeit nach Luther.*" This Rostock historian has repeatedly shown an unsurpassed understanding of Luther and a rare talent for reducing to order and system what many would regard as hopeless chaos. And here again, in examining into the method of Luther's ethics Walther has ranged into a complete well-rounded unity the most varied statements, both of explicit and of implicit bearing upon the subject. That he has been eminently successful is admitted. More careful investigations and a more detailed and appreciative understanding of Luther seems to disentangle the alleged irreconcilable contradictions and to reveal at every turn that there was indeed a deep-seated consistency in his utterances, a method in his thought which makes him in some sense at least a theologian and a systematician, assertions to the contrary notwithstanding. So here Luther's own words under skillful interpretation present us with a complete system of ethics. To summarize its contents: The essence of morality consists in love as the will of God. The source of true morality is faith, and as such faith has a double significance in that it not only impels to a proper state of morality but also qualifies for it. With reference to the practical morality of the faithful and the relation of the moral and non-moral in the life of the believer, the conclusion is that the law is relatively valid even for Christians. Morality is a necessary consequence of faith and while it cannot always be taken as infallibly denoting the presence of faith, nevertheless is not without its influence upon the growth of faith. This book of Walther's, supplemented by Thieme's "*Die sittliche Triebkraft des Glaubens,*" affords a thorough understanding of Luther's ethics.

With reference to the inner development leading to Luther's reformatory activity, a weighty factor has long been recognized in the medieval German mysticism of Eckart, Tauler and others, especially in their profound conception of God and the deterministic complexion of their religious ideas (*vide e. g.*, Hunzinger,

Luther und die deutsche Mystik im Jahre 1516, N. K. Ztsft, 1908). That a second and perhaps even stronger influence is to be found in Luther's study of Paul's letter to the Romans was strongly supposed and is now established in detail. For Johannes Ficker of Strassburg, has finally published in a book of over six hundred octavo pages Luther's lectures on Romans, delivered in 1515 and 1516. This enables us to supplement the essentially correct portrayal in the last edition of Loof's *Dogmengeschichte*. No other book of the New Testament exerted such an influence on the Reformation as did Romans. And it is most satisfying now to be able to follow here the development of Luther's views on the central questions of faith, especially in that great critical period of his life (1515-1516), when partially under the influence of the medieval German mysticism he had begun to throw off the power of neo-platonic and semi-pelagian influences and was reverting to pure and unmodified Paulinism. This new source of knowledge concerning Luther's earliest views will be of inestimable value in our full understanding of the great reformer.

One more work in historical theology calls for notice at this place as constituting a factor in current theological thought in Germany. And that is Otto Ritschl's "*Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*." The question is raised concerning the justification of this title. The great change in the methods of historical investigation and the keenness of present-day theological analysis and synthesis have undoubtedly made necessary a complete reconstruction of the worthy works of Gass, J. A. Dorner, and G. Frank. But should not the new presentation continue to be a history of Protestant theology or of Protestant dogmatics? Can we with propriety speak of a history of doctrines within the Protestant Church? Seeberg, Loofs, and Harnack, all close their histories with the end of the Reformation period. What they have accomplished for the Church Catholic, Ritschl would accomplish for Protestantism. That he can do this and yet regard his work as a continuation of the histories of dogma is to be explained from his peculiar concept of dogma itself. In the work of Harnack as well as in those of Loofs and Seeberg, dogma is constituted such by the official ecclesiastical sanction. But Harnack rejects the authority of the Church and consequently

the validity of her dogmas. Accordingly he traces the history of dogma to the Protestant emancipation from ecclesiastical authority and stops there. Within Protestantism there can be no dogma. Loofs and Seeberg, on the other hand, with practically the same concept of dogma as Harnack, nevertheless recognize the present validity of catholic dogmas and the possibility of further dogmas within the Protestant Church. They close their presentations however, with the Formula of Concord and the Helvetian Concensus as the last dogmas actually realized. What has since been achieved with reference to Christian doctrine belongs to a history of theology. Now Ritschl includes in the term dogma "any religious and theological views of Christian theologians including all ages and all tendencies." This is of course too broad a conception and especially does it miss the normative element which dogma must embody. But it is the conception that Ritschl has in mind when he undertakes to present the history of Protestant dogma. His work will really be on a line with those works which have hitherto been known as histories of Protestant theology.

This work is planned for three volumes. Only the first has appeared. The plan is not merely to recount the changes or describe the various dogmatic systems of Protestant theology, but to trace the development of theological thought to its causes and consequences and to explain the resultant doctrines as the product of the interaction among various heterogeneous principles inherent in Protestantism. Rejecting the time-honored distinction of formal and material principles as inapplicable and insufficient to explain the course of all Protestant thought, Ritschl discovers to the reader four regulative and constitutive motives (*Instanzen*) whose various inter-relations he regards as sufficient to account for the changes in Protestant theology. Two of these factors are realistic: the normity of Scripture and dogmatic tradition; and two are idealistic: the central significance of *fides salvica* and the human reason. The first two elements are constitutive for the history given in this first volume (1. *Band. Prolegomena. Biblizismus und Traditionalismus.*) extending to the year 1600. In the first part of the volume it is shown how Lutheranism and Calvinism both arrived at the doctrine of verbal inspiration though starting from different pre-

suppositions. The Reformed Church received the doctrine at once from her founder; it is explicitly included in the stern logic of Calvin himself. But with reference to the Lutheran conception of the Scriptures as norm for doctrine it is shown how the principle was more freely conceived by Luther and Melanchthon not as purely formal but as only materially regulative, and then under the influence of the polemics against anabaptistic fanaticism and the Catholic reaction was gradually narrowed by Flacius and Chemnitz, and finally through Johann Gerhard assumed the form of absolute verbal inspiration. The second part of the volume shows how the practical demands of doctrinal and ecclesiastical unity in Lutheran territories led Melanchthon to evolve a dogmatic traditionalism. This however had to give way before Lutheran orthodoxy as expressed in the Formula of Concord and the result was a complete victory for the biblicistic principle as conceived after Luther and Melanchthon had passed away. In this connection it is also shown that the Reformed theology of the sixteenth century is not without traces and germs of a traditionalism related to Melanchthon's.

The second volume is to trace the seventeenth century reaction against the doctrine of verbal inspiration and the restitution of the doctrine of justification by faith. The third volume will show the development of rationalism in the old Protestant dogmatics and thus point out the transition to Schliermacher and the nineteenth century. The objectivity with which the son of Albrecht Ritschl here writes, his thorough acquaintance with the sources, his fine appreciation of Luther, and his sound historical judgment have won him many high commendations for his work.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE XII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY. PHILADELPHIA.

The Post-Apostolic Age and Current Religious Problems. By Junius B. Remensnyder, D.D., LL.D., author of "Heavenward," "Doom Eternal," etc., etc. Cloth. Pp. x, 333. Price \$1.25 net.

"The aim of this volume," as stated in the Preface, "is to show that the Christian faith, though varying in adaptation to the changing conditions of men and society, has ever preserved its essential identity. It has been, is, and will be, one. It has never cut from beneath it the foundations of antiquity and history. Its vital doctrines are generically the same to-day as they were interpreted by the generation in closest touch with its origin, and as they have been held these centuries."

The author has abundantly vindicated his contention that the Protestant Christianity of to-day is the Christianity of the Post-Apostolic Age. From the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, who were partly contemporaneous with the apostles or immediately succeeded them, Dr. Remensnyder has culled a very interesting array of quotations giving their views on God and Christ and the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity. It appears from these that there is no essential difference between the views of these saintly men of that early day and modern orthodox belief. The volume thus becomes a strong apologetic confirming faith in the historicity and verity of Christianity. It strengthens our confidence that a religion that has withstood the shock of attack for these nineteen centuries will not succumb to any assaults.

The author covers a very wide range of thought in his discussions. Every vital phase of modern religious problems is touched—inspiration, naturalism, modernism, hierarchism, socialism, the "new theology" and the future state.

The style of presentation is attractive. The language is plain; the thought is clear. An earnest Christian spirit permeates the book. Its perusal will enlighten the reader and strengthen his faith. It will bring him into touch with the great vital problems which are agitating the religious world.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Lutheran Teacher-Training Series for the Sunday School. Book One. The Book and the Message. Pp. 158. Price, in paper binding, 35 cts. net, postpaid; in cloth, 50 cts. net postpaid. By the dozen, \$3.50 net, and \$5.00 net, respectively, carriage prepaid.

This is the first of a series of four dozen handbooks for the use of Sunday School Teacher-Training Classes, now being prepared and published "under the direction of the Sunday School Literature Committee of the Board of the Lutheran Publication Society."

There are many excellent handbooks of this general character now on the market, but none of them were prepared with a special view to the needs of teachers in our Lutheran Sunday Schools. As our Church has always laid special stress on the care and training of children and youth, and has some distinctive views on the relation of the children to the Church, it seems eminently desirable that we should have such a series as this for the use of our pastors and teachers.

Three other books are to follow this one, on *The Pupil and the Teacher*, *The School and the Church*, and *The Lutheran Church and Child-Nurture*. If they are as carefully prepared as this first volume, the series as a whole will be of very great value to our Sunday School teachers and to the entire Church.

This volume is in two parts. Part One deals with *The Book*, and was prepared by Rev. Herbert Alleman, D.D., of Philadelphia. It is intended to be a kind of "General Introduction to the Bible," and has twenty-three chapters dealing with such subjects as "The Book as We Know It;" "The Canon;" "Inspiration;" "The Pentateuch;" "Patriarchial History," &c.

Part Two is the work of Rev. W. H. Dunbar, D.D., of Baltimore, Md. Its special title is *The Message*. It has twelve chapters on "The Bible a Divine Revelation," "God," "Sin," "The Law and the Gospel," "The New Life," &c.

The discussions are of necessity brief, but they are clear and as thorough as could be expected in such a handbook. Each chapter is followed by a series of "Questions" for review purposes, and in the second part also by "Topics for Class Papers," an excellent feature.

Any person who will use this volume with any degree of care and faithfulness will, we are sure, gain a much clearer conception of both *The Book* and *The Message* of the book than is possessed by the ordinary Sunday School teacher, and will be prepared to do correspondingly better work.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

AMERICAN LUTHERAN PUBLICATION BOARD. PITTSBURG, PA.

Voice Training for Speakers. Objective and Subjective Voice.
By Charles Christian Morhart. Pp. 193.

The author of this excellent manual is a Missouri (English) Lutheran pastor in Cleveland, Ohio. The book, however, has no special reference to preaching nor to the training of the voice for pulpit work. For this very reason it may be all the more helpful to ministers.

The basis of the author's distinction between the "Objective Voice" and the "Subjective Voice," is made plain in the following extract from the second part:

"The objective voice is intellectual, the subjective voice is emotional. The objective voice holds an audience especially by the power of the eye, and the use of the various arts of speech; the subjective voice uses the emotions to arouse an audience to the highest pitch of emotional thought and feeling. Objective work reveals the mind; subjective work reveals the soul and colors all words and actions with magnetic nerve power.

"The whole art of expression is built on words and actions. Objective work is nine-tenths words and one-tenth action; subjective work is one-tenth words and nine-tenths life and action."

The discussions in both parts are full, clear and remarkably suggestive. Any public speaker who will carefully follow the directions given for breathing, voice building, the development of strength and flexibility of voice, &c., will certainly receive great benefit. We would especially commend this volume to the study and use of ministers who may be conscious of defects in delivery, or desirous of improving, and yet may not find it practicable to take a course of voice training under a regular teacher. We do not recall any other handbook which will so readily lend itself to such a private use or promise so much help.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

Portraits of Jesus. By William Dollman. Cloth. Pp. 227.

The Great Teacher was fond of presenting spiritual truths as pictures, drawn in the attractive colors of nature and the familiar tones of every-day life. His own divine-human personality also, beyond our comprehension in its fulness, He brought as near as possible to our understanding by means of frequent comparisons, which the author of this little book aptly regards as outline sketches of the divine likeness by the Master himself. He is "Physician," "Bridegroom," "Judge," "Servant," "Shepherd," "King," "Bread," "Water," "Way," "Truth," "Life," "Vine," etc. These outline sketches the author "has tried rever-

ently to fill in with the available material," and has succeeded in presenting a series of portraits, beautiful, attractive, and true to the life. The various studies have been carefully worked out. They will afford interesting and helpful reading, and must bring the thoughtful reader into a better acquaintance with Him whom to know aright is life everlasting.

HENRY ANSTADT.

Socialism: A Review of Modern Economic Movements with Special Reference to Socialism and its Antagonism to Christianity. By Rev. C. C. Morhart, of Cleveland, Ohio. Pp. 30. Price 10 cts per copy; 80 cts. per dozen or \$7.00 per hundred.

This paper was read before the Lake Erie Conference of the Missouri Lutheran Synod, and has been published by request of the Conference. It gives evidence of wide familiarity with the subject and careful preparation. The standpoint of the writer is indicated by the following paragraph:

"The survey of economic history leads to three conclusions: first, that socialists, e. g., Karl Marx in the Socialist Manifesto of 1848, distort the facts of economic history to support socialistic theories; second, that socialism is a problematical solution of social problems; and finally, that there is no simple, easily applied formula which will cure social evils."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

A. C. ARMSTRONG & SON. NEW YORK.

The Ethic of Jesus according to the Synoptic Gospels. By the Rev. James Stalker, M.A., D.D. Pp. 403. Price \$1.75 net.

Professor Stalker informs his readers, in the Preface, that this volume is one of a Trilogy. The first volume of this Trilogy is *The Christology of Jesus* previously published. He refers them to this book for his views on "the criticism of the Gospels," and also for his reasons for deriving the materials for both these volumes "from the Synoptics only." His views of the Fourth Gospel will be presented in the third volume yet to be published on *The Mind of Jesus as Reported by St. John*.

We have been greatly pleased and interested in reading this volume on *The Ethic of Jesus*. The treatment is scholarly and profound, and thoroughly up-to-date, and yet the writer uses the old terminology, and that too without putting into it meanings so new and so different from those to which we have been accustomed as continually to mislead and deceive, as do so many modern writers on Ethics.

The discussion is divided into three parts: Part First dealing with "The Highest Good;" Part Second with "Virtue," and Part Third with "Duty." In each part the plan followed is to rely entirely on the words of Jesus themselves for guidance, and this plan is faithfully adhered to throughout. Each chapter is preceded by a list of the texts by which the discussion of its theme has been controlled. The number of these references is evidence at once of the wide scope and great richness of the teaching of Jesus, and also of the care and fidelity with which the author has done his work. In this way the reader is not only furnished with ample material with which to test the views of the author, but also with all that Jesus has said on the several topics, as reported by the Synoptics, so that he can push his own study of them as far as he will. We regard this as a very valuable feature of the book.

We would especially commend this volume to those ministers and laymen who are tempted to think that the preachers need a new Gospel for the pulpit, better adapted to the age and its peculiar problems than the old Gospel of Jesus, or that they should turn aside from seeking the salvation of souls to the work of reforming society and solving the "Social Questions" of the hour. We cannot forbear giving one quotation along this line. On page 28 Dr. Stalker writes:

"In the next chapter we shall see that in the great conception of the Kingdom of God the social aspect of religion is acknowledged; but the originality of Christ consisted not in emphasizing this, but in seizing on the emergent notion of the dignity and value of the individual soul and elevating it to the forefront; so that preachers are not going back to Christ, but going back beyond Him, to a pre-Christian stage of religion, if, instead of magnifying the individual and straining every nerve for his salvation, they wander away to the social or ecclesiastical organism, making this their principal care and the leading element of their testimony."

We notice one surprising slip, on page 280, where the author speaks of Jesus being "carried to the temple in His infancy, to be made a citizen of the holy nation through the rite of circumcision." He was carried to the temple forty days after His birth when Mary presented herself, according to the law, for purification, and also that the customary coin might be paid for His redemption as the first born male child of His mother. But His circumcision was no doubt performed at the lodging place of Joseph and Mary in Bethlehem, eight days after His birth.

There is a valuable "Appendix" of 26 pages, consisting of an essay by Rev. Fred. T. Rae, M.A., on *The Church and the Social Teaching of Jesus*.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

Jesus and the Gospel. Christianity Justified in the Mind of Christ. By James Denney, D.D.

"Back to Christ" has become a watchword of New Testament research; but whose Christ? The Christ of the Gospels, or Paul's Christ? The Christ of history, or of experience; the Christ of the Scripture record, or the Christ of the critically sifted text?

The Apostolic writers are deemed but interpreters of Jesus, and faulty at that. The modern mind critical and keen is thought to be better able to discern the spirit and the teaching of the Nazarene.

But it is strange that such faulty interpreters should set forth such a superior Jesus; that small minds should be such consummate artists. Jesus is indescribable in terms of common humanity, and yet He is no vagary. The religion of Jesus as set forth by the New Testament writers is the Gospel of Christ. Jesus' admirers are greater than He if their interpretations are not true to Jesus' real person and work. Dr. Denney shows that back to Jesus is back to the Christ of the Church.

It might seem that Dr. Denney reasons in a circle, but a true insight into human psychology and history shows that his circle is a logical one; it is a continuity and a logical sequence. Religion is first objective, then subjective; an objective historical revelation, and then a spiritual appropriation and appreciation. Religion now combines the two into a higher unity. Religion is first of Authority, then of Liberty. Authority is not to be spurned, nor must liberty abandon its authority; a reciprocal relation is to be maintained. Man was once for the Church, then the Church for man; now the reciprocal duties and benefits are apparent. Spirit and organism must go together; authority and spiritual liberty form a union. While we are in a time and sense world there must be body and soul; in pure religion and undefiled there must be historic basis, authority, not merely subjective, but factual. Value judgments through experience must have a basic principle of fact.

In reviewing the Gospel and Epistolary records of the New Testament Dr. Denney unites the Christ of history with the Christ of true criticism, the Christ of necessity both rational and moral.

M. COOVER.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY. NEW YORK.

Great Issues. By Robert F. Horton, author of "Inspiration and the Bible," &c. Cloth. Pp. 384. Index. Price \$1.50 net. *Great Issues* includes a dozen essays on such subjects as Re-

ligion, Morality, Politics, Socialism, Theology and Life. We predict that *Great Issues* will take high rank in essay literature. The diction is fine. The illustrations are opposite. The treatment is suggestive and inspiring. The reader will be stimulated. Exception may well be taken to some of Dr. Horton's assertions. In the essay on Religion, for instance, he seems to teach that Christianity can and does exist apart from the Churches. The decay of some Churches has evidently blinded him to the great facts that after all the Church is the organism of Christianity. His strictures, however, may well be heeded. He is profoundly loyal to Christ. As over against Catholicism he is a staunch Protestant. He says in reply to Newman Smyth, "Protestantism may have failed to settle a final creed, or to establish Church institutions, it may have failed in its cults and in its organization, but in one thing it has completely succeeded: it has made the return to Catholicism impossible for progressive nations and for fearless lovers of truth." * * "Catholicism has no future unless it alters its fundamental dogma. The moral sense of the world, since Luther, has become stronger than the Church."

He pays his respects to the confident claims of evolutionists as follows: "You say that evolution is shaped by environment; you say that the universe has been evolved. What then was the environment of the universe, or if it had no environment, how was it evolved? Always there is something lacking in every attempt to account for things. Certainly there must be an environment of the universe if evolution is its law. How should personality emerge from the undesigned collision of impersonal forces? How should matter produce spirit? The venture of faith is therefore also the necessity of reason: in the beginning God created."

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians. By Gross Alexander, S.T.D. Cloth, 5 x 6½. Price 80 cts. net.

This is a volume of the series of small commentaries entitled "The Bible for Home and School," edited by Shailer Matthews. Dr. Alexander has done his work well. He is orthodox in faith, devout in spirit, clear in exposition. Of course, there may be little slips here and there. For instance, he quotes approvingly Haupt (p. 19), who says, "Apart from Christ there would have been no creation, with Him creation was a necessity." If this be intended to mean that there was anything like an internal or external necessity compelling Christ to create, we reject the sentiment as denying the absoluteness of our Lord.

The Introduction embraces the conclusions of devout scholar-

ship concerning such things as authorship, date and purpose of the epistles. An excellent analysis is also included.

The Spirit of America... By Henry Van Dyke, Professor of English at Princeton University, &c. Cloth. Pp. xv, 276. Price \$1.50 net.

This book contains the first seven of a series of twenty-six conferences, given in the winter of 1908-1909, on the Hyde Foundation, at the University of Paris, and repeated in part at other universities of France. They were delivered in English, and afterward translated into French. Some half dozen years ago Mr. James Hazen Hyde founded two chairs, one at University of Paris and the other at Harvard for an annual interchange of professors in order that France and America might be brought into more sympathetic relation with each other.

These superb lectures of Dr. Van Dyke not only enhance the reputation of their eminent and versatile author but fully justify the outlay of Mr. Hyde. We need hardly say that they are interesting, for Dr. Van Dyke does not seem capable of writing a dull line. They are a fine interpretation of the American life and character, which are often misunderstood and caricatured in other lands. These lectures will serve as a corrective. As the shortcomings of our people and of our new life are freely acknowledged, the author leaves upon the mind of the reader the impression of sincerity. With gentle art he sets the mistaken Frenchman right on numerous points. For instance, he corrects M. Jules Huret who says in his work *En Amerique*, "At Pittsburg, the industrial hell, which contains 60,000 Italians, and 300,000 Slavs, Croats, Hungarians, etc., in the city and its suburbs,—at Pittsburg, capital of the Steel Trust, which distributes seven hundred millions of interest and dividends every year,—there is no hospital!" Dr. Van Dyke says, "This is wonderfully incorrect. It greatly exaggerates the foreign population of Pittsburg. It entirely ignores the fact that there are fifteen public hospitals and eighteen private hospitals in the Smoky City. (Paris has fifteen public hospitals)."

The author shows the national unity and strength of the United States in the seven chapters which constitute the book. The titles include the line of thought: "The Soul of a People," "Self-reliance and the Republic," "Fair Play and Democracy," "Will Power, Work and Wealth," "Common Order and Social Co-operation," "Personal Development and Education," and "Self-expression and Literature."

These chapters are replete with facts, illuminated by the gen-

tle touch of humor, and written in an elegant diction. So good a volume should have an index.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Faith and Works of Christian Science. By the writer of *Confessio Medici*.

The literature bearing on Christian Science is becoming more abundant. The relation sustained to the Christian Scriptures by Christian Science has been succinctly set forth by Mr. I. M. Haldeman (Revell) in his book entitled *Christian Science in the Light of Holy Scripture*.

The author of *Faith and Works of Christian Science* is Dr. Stephen Paget, an English medical practitioner of the Middlesex Hospital, and Secretary of the Research Defense Society.

Dr. Paget clearly shows that Christian Science contradicts common sense. Its philosophy is nonsense, or absurdity. It teaches a quasi subjective pantheism affirming that the only real existence is mind, and mind is God. Soul is spirit, and spirit is God. And yet soul is said to be substance in transit; and evil is substance in error. And again evil is but the absence of good, and is unreal. It is flesh that is evil, and not the soul is declared after Manichean fashion, yet flesh is but an illusion. Good only is real. There is but one mind, and that is divine mind. God is not divided, only reflected; and God is the only "US."

Animals are not real, they are only reflections, ideas. Carnivora are not carnivorous; vipers are not venomous. Instincts, passions, minds, are God, God reflected in things, animals, men. All is illusion save God, and mind, which is part of God.

Dr. Paget deals chiefly with the cures of Christian Science, and shows the inadequacy and the fallacy of the evidence produced.

Dr. Paget presents a sane practical criticism with medical precision and penetration. The book is to the point, and is much to be recommended to all inquirers on this subject.

M. COOVER.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. NEW YORK.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D., and other scholars. Volume II. Arthur-Bunyan. Cloth, 8 x 11. Pp. xxii, 901. Sold by subscription only at \$7.00 per volume.

The second volume of this truly monumental work fully sus-

tains the reputation achieved by the first, as well as by the several Encyclopaedias already completed under the editorial supervision of Dr. Hastings. His *Dictionary of the Bible* (in five volumes) and his *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (in two volumes), find their complete and fitting supplement in the present work which will be issued in ten large volumes of nearly a thousand pages each. These several encyclopaedias cover the whole ground of religion and ethics, as far as these subjects are set forth not only in the Sacred Scriptures but in all literature, ancient and modern, and as far as competent scholarship has been able to investigate the facts in the case. This *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* will be indispensable to the up-to-date teacher and to students in any department of the broad field which it so assiduously cultivates. The theologian and the thoughtful minister will find it a rich mine not only for what it contains, but for the lines of investigation which it suggests.

The scope of this Encyclopaedia embraces all possible phases of Religion and Ethics. Here are rich pastures for the theologian, the philosopher, the anthropologist and the socialist. Biographical and geographical aspects are treated as far as they bear on the general theme. In fact, its comprehensiveness is marvellous. One is surprised at the inclusiveness of the contents. No pertinent subject seems to have eluded the mind of the editor.

The thoroughness of the work is guaranteed by the fact that the articles are written by specialists only, who have distinguished themselves in their respective departments. Some topics are subdivided, and each is discussed by an authority, e. g., "blood-feud" is treated by ten different writers, "body" by seven and "baptism" by nine. The exhaustiveness of presentation is witnessed by the length of the more important articles, e. g., that on "baptism" covers forty-six pages, and the one on "Bible" fifty-four. "Bible in the Church" is treated under seven main divisions and thirty-one sub-divisions, every one of which is clear and important. Thus under "Spread of the Bible," the points are, "Transmission," "Translation," and "Circulation." Under "The Bible in the Life of the People," we have, "Bible and Language," "Bible and Views of the World and Human Life," "Bible and Law," "Bible and Art," and "Bible and Hostile Influences."

The literary quality of the articles is on a par with their scientific character. "Attention is given to grace of style, so that the articles may be read with pleasure as well as relied upon for accuracy and insight."

The attitude of the *Cyclopaedia* from a theological standpoint is devoutly Christian. There is no questioning, as far as we have observed of any fundamental doctrine of the Christian

faith. On the contrary the defense of the supernatural origin of Christianity is clear and strong, e. g., the article on Apologetics in Vol. I. Nevertheless, "the broad results of criticism" are pre-supposed in the Biblical articles. Sanday, in the article "Bible," frankly avows this, and expresses his belief that the conservative attitude, as represented by Dr. Orr, is no longer tenable; yet he expresses his sympathy with the latter's view of the religious character and use of the Old Testament.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

EATON & MAINS. NEW YORK.

The Christian Religion. Its Meaning and Proof... By J. Scott Lidgett, M.A. Price \$2.50.

This book is a serious attempt to "explain and verify the Christian religion by means of the fatherly-filial relationship." Although the author desires to establish rather a general point of view than to treat the subject of Christian Evidences exhaustively, he has gone into the matter with considerable fullness and without any doubt, dealt in a very comprehensive way with a subject which is always of great interest to the theological student.

He lays down his premises; makes his claim for Christianity as a "realized relationship between persons, human and divine;" shows it to be the supreme expression and satisfaction of spiritual life; sets a valuation on the conclusions of the Spirit; and claims for it what no other philosophic system can, an "all comprehensive world-explanation," without ignoring those world phenomena which seem to contradict its explanations or invalidate its conclusions. God's dealings with man, transcend nature, but stand vitally connected with her entire domain.

In three chapters, in which he deals with Christianity's Content, its Factors, and its vital Faiths, as found in Nature-worship, Ancestor-worship, Animism, Humanism, Moralism, Brahminism, Buddhism, Dualism, and Monotheism, its ultimate fulfillment of all faiths, the author sets forth with great clearness the relative position of the religion of Christ, and makes clear its claim, from the standpoint of a sane evolution, its fitness to survive and its possibility of becoming universal in as much as it includes "in a perfect whole" that which is capable of becoming universal and permanent in each of past and rival faiths.

In the second part he treats in six chapters of Christianity's primary verification, its explanation of the world and relation to a true naturalism the arguments from Design, etc., Man and Redemption and the Doctrine of God. The chapters in which

he states Christianity and Naturalism, and the criticism, which the latter has uttered in the past and is uttering at present against the former, are full and satisfactory, and leave us in no doubt as to what position a rational faith should assume toward a materialistic and agnostic, a Monistic or Deistic conception of the world and man, its final creative product. He shows conclusively that Naturalism has given, and in its highest reach can give, no explanation of the world or man in the world.

"Natural selection," is hardly as fitting a term as "natural rejection" in tracing world development, and cannot discover to us a certain and definite end. The ultimate principle on which Theism rests for its conclusiveness, is that there is a divine Personality at the head of all things; that the "Source of the Universe cannot be less than that which is manifested in and to its highest product." Man, nature's "final product," has attributes which rank higher than "mere power."

Our author clearly faces the subject of the existence of moral evil in the world in connection with his discussion on Design. However difficult it may be to explain the appearance of moral evil in a world created by a perfect Being, it cannot militate against either His character or the purpose which He had in mind in creation. It may be an "inexplicable mystery" to some, but this it can only be to *some extent*. In *many respects* it is seen to subserve "the highest spiritual" ends, and from the standpoint of an argument against a moral and loving Creator, that part which remains a mystery is insufficient to set aside the testimony of moral and rational consciousness that the God who made is a loving Person.

This conclusion is strongly fortified in the last two chapters on the scheme of human Redemption and the Doctrine of God.

The author has made no attempt, as he states, to bring his argument up to meet the position of the New Theology. He has rested his case and performed his task in a restatement of the old conservative position of the Christian apologist. He has used his best endeavor to restate the argument to our modern view of nature in terms of present science, and has succeeded with admirable effect. He shows how science has become more humble in view of its limitations.

The style of the book is hardly popular. Its thought is conclusive to the Christian thinker; its form leaves considerable to be desired. The author's style is verbose and he often fails in terseness and lucidity. He could with considerable profit state his case more cogently, were he to study brevity. This, in no way, militates against the clear grasp of the writer, but it does render the work, meritorious as it is, less effective.

We close such a book with the conviction, that in the hands of

such thinkers, our Holy Faith is safe. No materialistic, rationalistic, agnostic, or monistic waves can overturn or wreck the Ark of God with such men at the helm.

L. B. WOLF.

METROPOLITAN CHURCH ASSOCIATION. WAUKESHA. WIS.

Sermons on Bible Characters. By Rev. Edwin L. Harvey. Cloth. Pp. 242.

This is a series of eleven sermons preached by the author "to audiences in the various towns in which the work of the Metropolitan Church Association is located." With one exception they refer to Old Testament characters. As examples of homiletical excellence they do not rank high. They have the merit of originality, and boldness of attack against present day evils. They are written in popular form of expression, and the practical warnings (the lessons drawn are principally of that character) are within easy grasp of the ordinary mind.

HENRY ANSTADT.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE. ST. LOUIS.

Be Thou My Guide. A Handbook of Advice and Comfort for Young Lutherans newly confirmed. Illustrated cover. Cloth, 4 x 5. Pp. 86. Price 20 cts., gilt edge 25 cts. Illustrated. *So Nimm denn Meine Hände.* German. Substantially the same as the English.

These beautiful booklets are intended as reminders of the day of confirmation, and are far more appropriate than a mere certificate. The German edition is the original but the English is not a mere translation. We commend these booklets to pastors.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

PRESS OF MEYER & THALHEIMER. BALTIMORE, MD.

"Dot." *"A Novel of To-day."* By L. M. Zimmerman, D.D. Illustrated. Price \$1.00.

This is the author's third essay in the field of fiction, and is easily the best of the three. It is, as the author promises in the "Preface," "interesting, wholesome and true to life." It is a good book for Sunday School libraries, and we can heartily commend it to young people. Its popularity is attested by the fact that it has already reached the fourth edition.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

CHICAGO LUTHERAN SEMINARY PRESS. CHICAGO, ILL.

The Student's Handbook to the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Chicago, Ill. Revised in 1908. Pp. 93. Price 10 cts. in paper; 25 cts. in cloth.

The purpose of this book is indicated in its title. It contains a brief history of the Chicago Seminary, its Constitution and By-laws, the "Course of Study," both for resident and non-resident students, Examination Questions, &c.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

BAPTIST WORLD PUBLISHING CO. LOUISVILLE, KY.

Syllabus for Old Testament Study. By John R. Sampey, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Interpretation in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Pp. 215.

This is a syllabus and much more. That it was originally prepared by a professor for his use in the class room is its recommendation, for it has thus been thoroughly tested, and it has stood this test so well, and has been so acceptable to the general public, that a second edition was required. It opens with a full list of Books on the Old Testament which alone is worth the price of the volume. This is followed by a brief outline of the Contents of the Pentateuch, after which there is a full presentation of the principles involved in the Higher Criticism. The Patriarchs are described, and an estimate is given of their work and their place in history. The narration of Joseph is followed by a chapter on Egyptology, that of Moses by one on Typology and the Law. Under Studies in the Prophets we have a discussion of the Names and Functions of Prophets, the Fulfillment of Prophecy and the Roll-call of the Old Testament Prophets. The presentation of the Poetical Books is prefaced by a discussion of Hebrew Poetry. Under Isaiah we have an Outline of his Prophecies, Notes on Important Passages in Isaiah, and a strong reply to Dr. Driver's arguments for a deutero-Isaiah. We looked into Daniel with special interest because at this moment we are studying the book in the class room, and we found a full analysis of its contents together with what we regard a triumphant refutation of Dr. Driver's arguments for its late date. Here and there throughout the volume our author gives his own reflections which are terse, lucid and very suggestive. For example, "Labor antedates the Fall. After the Fall labor becomes toil." And this, "Whether God took a million years to make man or only a

second, matters little—if only *God* made him.” The volume closes with a valuable Chronological Chart and a copious Index. All in all we regard this work one of the most timely and satisfactory books, from a conservative standpoint and for purposes of obtaining a succinct and comprehensive knowledge of the Old Testament, that has appeared for a long time, and we give it our heartiest commendation and endorsement. It should be in the hands not only of every preacher, but of every intelligent reader of the Bible.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

The Heart of the Old Testament. A Manual for Christian Students. By John R. Sampey, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Interpretation in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Pp. 283. Price 50 cts.

This is a handbook of the Old Testament “written by a modern scholar who believes thoroughly in the supernatural in both Testaments.” It is a “book that will be suitable for popular Bible study in Young People’s Societies and Sunday School Normal Classes,” and in Schools and Colleges. It is, as its title indicates, “The heart of the Old Testament.” It is a statement in condensed form of the contents of the Old Testament written in an easy, attractive style, by one who fully accepts the Bible as the inspired Word of God, and who is familiar with all the modern assaults made upon the integrity of the Scriptures. It is just the book to be placed in the hands of our young people as a correction of the rationalistic and often incorrect literature on the Bible with which the press of the day is teeming. We welcome this little book as most timely in its appearance, and bespeak for it a hearty reception.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JULY, 1910.

ARTICLE I.

THE DOCTRINE OF GOD.¹

BY PROFESSOR JOHN ABERLY, D.D.

“Our Churches, with common consent, do teach, that the decree of the Council of Nicaea concerning the Unity of the Divine Essence and concerning the Three Persons, is true and to be believed without any doubting; that is to say, there is one Divine Essence which is called and which is God: eternal, without body, without parts, of infinite power, wisdom and goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible; and yet that there are three Persons, of the same essence and power, who also are co-eternal, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. And the term “person” they use as the Fathers have used it, to signify, not a part or quality in another, but that which subsists of itself.

“They condemn all heresies which have sprung up against this article, as the Manichaeans who assumed two principles [gods] one Good and the other Evil; also the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mohammedans and all such. They condemn also the Samosatenes, old and new, who contending that there is but one Person, sophistically and impiously argue that the Word and the Holy Ghost are not distinct Persons, but that “Word” signifies a spoken word, and Spirit [Ghost], signifies motion created in things.” Article I, Augsburg Confession.

¹ Lecture on Article I. of the Augsburg Confession, on the Holman Foundation, delivered in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., May 3, 1910.

In beginning the third series of lectures on the Augsburg Confession on the Holman Foundation, I follow custom and begin with the First Article. In doing so one can not but recall the Lectures on this Article already delivered and the master theologians who delivered them. Dr. Brown's lecture is a keen analysis of this article, characteristic of the man, fortifying its teachings with Scripture quotations, with a running commentary on both the positive and the negative parts of it. Dr. Ort's lecture discusses the Doctrine of God from the standpoint of the philosopher, who, as well as the theologian, demands one God, and yet not a mechanical unity, but a Personal Being with personal relations, requirements most fully met by the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity. The Doctrine of God, which is the subject of this First Article, is so vast that one need not fear of going over ground already covered in treating it anew. The point of view in this lecture shall be that of the non-Christian faiths. In treating the article thus no violence is done to its setting in the Confession. A creed makes definite our belief by differentiating it from rival beliefs. In this First Article there is nothing to differentiate us from Rome nor evangelical Protestants from one another. It is, after all, a strong testimony to the essential unity of our Christianity that in its teaching about God it uses still almost universally the great ecumenical creeds of Christendom, and on these our Church is squarely planted by this First Article. It, therefore, differentiates not various types of Christianity, but Christianity from all other types of religion. In estimating the permanent value of this article, therefore, it must be of inestimable value to view it in the light of man's best attempts to state the great truth of God. Such a presentation would seem to be specially timely at present when so much that passes under the name of new thought is in reality only a revival of pagan thought. It may be helpful in estimating that thought to consider what it has been able to do for the people among whom it has been in undisputed possession.

In attempting to view the Doctrine of God from the standpoint of the History of Religions, one is bewildered by the mass of materials placed at the service of such a study. The subject is as vast as the human race of all climes and all times. Man has always and everywhere shown himself incurably religious. In the pathetic records of man in the Neolithic Age and the

offerings presented to the departed at the graves of the dead in the rites of Peruvian and Mexican religions, as well as in the great religious systems which cover the earth to-day, man is engaged in the one quest of seeking God. Among a certain class of thinkers this fear of God instead of being acknowledged as the beginning of wisdom has been regarded as a relic of superstition which advancing culture, especially in the positive sciences, was destined to outgrow. But the gross materialism of a generation ago now finds few advocates. Scientists are freest to acknowledge that the origin of matter, mind, motion, life, man—all these are inexplicable except as a Supreme Mind, a Supreme Will, a Supreme Lawgiver, are postulated; as Prof. Clerk Maxwell has said, "I have looked up many strange theories and have found that none of them will work without the intervention of a God."² Let the origin of the idea of God be what it may, let its first form be what it may, the universality and the persistence of the idea are facts of profound significance. The burden of proof is rightly placed on those who would eliminate God from our thinking or even relegate Him to a secondary place. And equally significant is the testimony of the universal religious instinct to the unity of God. The prevalent view now is that the unity of God was reached only at an advanced stage of religious thinking. Totemism or fetish worship or ancestor worship or nature worship is thought to indicate primitive man's conception of the divine, and from the resultant polytheism men are supposed to have worked their way to monotheism, here and there, by processes of combination or by the victory of one tribal deity over another. That this view of primitive polytheism does not rest on proof but on inference is shown by the cautious way in which so able a champion of it as Sir Alfred Lyall puts it: "There has evidently been a foretime, though it is prehistorical, when, so far as we know, mankind was universally polytheistic."³ A generation ago Max Müller thought that in the philological discovery that Dyaush Pita, Zeus Pater, Jupiter, Odin, who is called All-Father, proof had been found not only of the unity of the Aryan portion of the human race but also of a primitive monotheism. His views have been abandoned by students of the

² Quoted by Rev. D. Gath Whitley, an article on *Scientific Foundations for Belief in God*, BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October 1909.

³ Transactions of the Third Congress, *History of Religions*, Vol. I., p. 1.

History of Religions now. The strong traces of monotheism found in ancient religions is accounted for by regarding these as already advanced stages of religious culture. One of the fallacies of the reasoning whereby this conclusion is reached is that of thinking that worshippers of many gods can have no idea of the one God. In India to-day the humblest cooly knows of one Supreme God though he is taught that there are 330,000,000 gods. In the heart of Central Africa, missionaries testify that the people know of one God though they do not worship Him but worship the malevolent spirits of which they are afraid. In naming even a stick a god we must remember that there is an idea of god which has something of unity even though applied to different objects. One who lives in contact with the facts can not but question the assumption, for such it is, that men attained to the conception of one God only at a more advanced stage of development. It seems rather to be a part of the best thinking of men of every time and this would explain why not only in China and among the American Indians, as well as among the Indo-Europeans, the Supreme Heaven or Spirit is known and worshipped, but everywhere underneath the most complex polytheism there is found the idea that God is One. Paul knew the Gentile world and he derives its polytheism by degeneration and not as a process of evolution and the facts of the History of Religions will, I believe, when approached without any prepossessions fit his theory better than that now in vogue.

While the material of the History of Religions is almost boundless, it is yet true that only among a few peoples have there been serious thoughtful attempts to establish belief in God, and to define the nature of the Godhead. The Farthest East never indulged to any great extent in religious speculation. In the very earliest records of the Chinese we find them living under established government with fixed laws and institutions. It was, however, not only by these that wrong-doing was restrained but they also recognized a Power to whom evil of every kind was displeasing and from whom punishment upon any kind of evil-doing might be expected. This Power was called Tien which means the sky. With the due ordering of the seasons, the insistence on right conduct between man and man and the punishment and rewards to be meted out, the work of Tien seems to have be-

gun and ended. After a time this simple monotheism underwent a change and there arose two Persons but only one substance. The new conception was Shang Ti, the Supreme Ruler. He was invested with more personal attributes. He enjoyed sacrifices and music, took sides in warfare, walked and talked, and thus satisfied the religious aspirations of the Chinese for contact with a personal God. These two Persons were, however, actually one and the same. Tien, God passive, and Shang Ti, God active, are really, according to Chinese interpretation, one indivisible Power in which two separate personalities co-exist. In addition to the above God has been called Tsa Hua, the Maker and Transformer, and as such corresponds to what we would call nature. Yet even to this Power human attributes were irresistibly assigned.⁴

If this be the original idea of God in China, the later speculation regarding God is represented by Laotzse. His system bears the name of Taoism. The Tao is the way or the nature of things, the principle in things, the *anima mundi* of our Western thought. Apart from this the Chinese mind has been practical, not speculative. Confucius more than any one else represents its thought. Confucianism is a moral code, not a religion nor a philosophy. Heaven is spoken of as Supreme God but this is not essential to the system. Confucius himself never prayed in his later years. He founded a "society whose principles are equality of all its members, intellect the sole ground of pre-eminence, personal merit, the sole aristocracy..... Everything there is weighed, measured, calculated by the laws of human nature..... Its one great idol is good sense..... It has ended in creating only a sublime automaton. And why? Because man is there deprived of an ideal superior to himself. Morality wants heroism; verse, poetry; philosophy, metaphysics; life, immortality; because, above all, God is wanting."⁵ Buddhism will come up for consideration in its own home. Strange that in China it departed from its original disregard of God and that the sympathetic spirit of the Buddha found expression there in *Ahinta*, goddess of mercy. When it is added that the Chinese believe it possible to profess any and all of these faiths, it is not surpris-

⁴ Condensed from Prof. H. A. Giles' *Original Idea of God in China*.

⁵ M. Quinet, quoted in W. S. Lilly's *Ancient Religion and Modern Thought*, p. 133.

ing to find that she lacks the clear thinking and the religious convictions which make the religions of some of the non-Christian countries, and their quest after God, interesting and instructive.

The speculative search after unity is, in the History of Religions, confined to the Iranian, the Brahman and the Greek, all members of the Aryan stock. The literature of the Persians has in large part been destroyed. Originally it was closely allied to the Hindu Sacred Books. The gods of the Zend-Avesta are largely those of the Vedic pantheon. Nature gods predominate among them especially those that symbolize fire. But unlike Brahmanism, the Persian religion was dualistic from beginning to end. Ahura-Mazda, the all-knowing Lord, was the good Spirit who was all light, truth, goodness and knowledge; Ahriman, his counterpart, was all darkness, falsehood, wickedness and ignorance. It is difficult for us at this age to understand the hold that Persian dualism once had over the minds of men in Manichæism, which threatened at one time seriously to invade, if not to subdue, the West. The reason, no doubt, lay in its pure theism. Having made Ahriman responsible for everything in the world that is evil, it was free to invest the good God with all goodness and holiness and Zoroastrianism stands next to the religion of the Bible in its conception of a holy God. Such a conception can of course only apply to a Personal Being and, in emphasizing this, it, too, met a universal need of man. It need not surprise us, therefore, that in India to this day the most enlightened and progressive people are the Parsees, followers of this ancient faith. It must be added, though, that the conflict in which the good and the evil are forever engaged is really the unifying principle in the Persian religion and later Parsiism in India and in Persia has shown a disposition to cast off dualism and to become both in its teaching and its practice a monistic system.

Something like Persian dualism also meets us in India, the country which easily stands chief in the extent and depth of her religious speculations. Of her six systems of philosophy, the Sankhya, of Kapila, starts out with two principles, the individual soul (*Athma*) and nature (*Prakriti*). Practically this system finds no place for God. It proceeds on the principle that what can not be logically proved can not exist—a very common

fallacy of mankind. It only takes into account individual souls and Prakriti in which souls find themselves entangled and so kept in a state of bondage until liberated by knowledge. But it is remarkable that the Yoga, that system of mysticism in India, which by a discipline it prescribes claims to bring the individual soul into touch with reality, became theistic. The Sankhya often goes under the name of the atheistic Sankhya, the Yoga under that of the theistic Sankhya. Buddha was the natural outcome of this Sankhya-Yoga system. He never denied the existence of God; he only disregarded Him. God is not necessary to Buddha's system. He aimed to know things as they are and adjust his life to them. This made Buddhism exceedingly practical. Buddha alone among the sages of India inculcated moral teachings as the essential part of man's duty, and it is significant that he started with a disregard of gods, priests and sacrifices. Because the gods of India have ever been unmoral, if not immoral, this was made necessary. Though Buddha had no place for God in his system, practically the law of retribution, extending through succeeding births, took the place of God. That law is known as *Karma*. It stands as an impartial judge giving to all their deserts. It holds all men to a fixed course. Whatever any one does in one life, that he has to enjoy or suffer in the next. Buddha thus anticipated those who disregard God only to make a god out of an abstract law. Higher stages in existence might be attained by right thinking, right living, right acting; complete cessation of existence or nirvana, by meditation and complete detachment from every kind of action. Buddha thus made man the arbiter of his own fate. But having no end outside of himself, no God to live for, life itself became an evil from which escape was sought. Our very creation is a subjection to bondage, and all our deeds, whether good or bad, but rivet the fetters that bind us. This is its pessimism and the pessimism of all systems of thought which disregard God. Buddhism combines what is best in India's thinking, an exalted ethical system, with what is most blighting and paralyzing, its utter hopelessness. Yet even this system could not escape from the thought of God. In China its sympathy became personified in a goddess of mercy, as above stated. In India it soon made a god of Buddha and worshipped him. Sacred relics of the Buddha, such as a hair or a tooth or a nail, were placed in huge mausoleums

called *stupas* and these became the sacred shrines of Buddhists. Buddhism is atheistic only in name, for it accords to the Buddha and other saints the worship men feel they owe to some higher power. The whole development of this Sankhya system in India is proof that the heart has a logic of its own which in the end will triumph over the logic that is only of the head. Later Hindu thinking, even when it professes to follow the Sankhya, is not dualistic. It is true that it keeps the ideas of soul and Prakriti, and the bondage of the soul by its entanglement with matter. But over and above these it has the Supreme Soul. Moreover, though keeping the Supreme Soul, the individual soul and gross matter eternally distinct, it unites them all in that pantheistic conception of the universe which is the one dominating every phase of Hindu thought. Individual souls and matter thus become a more subtle and a grosser form of this one Essence which is the neuter Brahm.

If this has been the progress of its search after unity along the Sankhya way, the Vedanta goes a different way and begins by asserting that what is known as Prakriti has no real existence. It is *Maya*, illusion. There is only one essence in the universe, that is God. Of Him we all are parts. The mind is enveloped by ignorance. Hence it does not know that it is God. Further, it projects its ignorance and so creates a world of its own, which has no real existence. This is a daring idealism and Indian thought has not hesitated to follow it to its most extreme conclusions. Of the one Essence it predicates nothing. To predicate is to limit. It does indeed declare Him to be *Sacchidananda*—truth, knowledge, bliss. This is the trinity of the Vedanta. Dr. Robson points out its general resemblance to the Christian Trinity—the Father as the ground and source of all, the Son, as the Logos or Revealer, and the Spirit who is the source of all joy. But the resemblance is more seeming than real. *Sat* stands for Pure Being of which nothing can be predicated; *Chit* for Pure Knowledge in which the distinction of subject and object disappear, not the thought of a personal being but the cognitive principle, akin to the absolute reason of Hegel; *Ananda* for an abstract bliss without personal self-consciousness, principally freedom from the sufferings of transmigration or individual existence.

If you ask the Vedantist how this Pure Being came to be modi-

fied Being, the answer is in desire. "In the beginning was this self alone. . . . He longed for a second." "It desired: May I be many, may I grow forth."⁶ These and many similar expressions from the Upanishads make desire the cause of creation. If the Brahman is inconsistent in ascribing desire to the unconscious, we may remember that in Schopenhauer's school, too, "the will-to-live" is so ascribed, or that the world as will is described without the suggestion of a Personal Being.

In the Vedanta, or Advaita, teaching has been reached the high-water mark of India's speculations. Unity is reached by denying real existence to the phenomenal world. It believes that the individual soul and God are identical. Its favorite maxims are, "I am Brahma." "Thou art That." It does not shrink from following out the conclusions of this thoroughly idealistic monism. Prof. Deussen, who is the greatest exponent, and even advocate, of this teaching to the West, well summarizes it thus: "Sankara's higher knowledge teaches in its theology, the unknowableness of God, in its cosmology, the illusoriness of the world apart from God, and in its psychology, the identity of God with the soul." It is here that Hindu speculation has pointed the way for much that passes as modern thought. This very fact may make it advisable to consider it a little more at length.

The first thing to be noticed is that this higher knowledge has by no means commended itself to the larger number of India's great thinkers. There is a reaction at present against the view generally held that the Vedanta is the prevalent philosophy of India. Dr. Grierson estimates that at least 150,000,000 out of the little more than 200,000,000 Hindus follow the rival school described above. It calls itself modified non-dualism. It ascribes personal attributes to God. It allows of incarnations and those of Vishnu alone are said to number ten. It admits of personal religion and the personal devotion which characterizes the fervor of the piety of India. The Vedanta, no less than the monistic philosophy elsewhere, has failed to satisfy the heart of men in its home in India.

Its greatest weakness is that it compels us to believe the evidence of our senses to be illusory. This can never commend it, nor any kind of idealistic monism, to practical men who are

⁶ Chandogya Upanishad 6:2, 1-3, as quoted in Dilger's *Salvation in Hinduism and Christianity*, p. 234.

compelled to treat this world as real. It leaves no room for a Personal God and personal relations to Him. Creation has no purpose. Sankara, the great exponent of this teaching, states that "the Brahman created the world without a motive, merely for the sake of amusement." What an unworthy view of the wonders of this world in which we live! And yet if creation is purposeless, if it has no worthy goal, no glorious consummation, it may be just as reasonable as any view yet propounded by man.

The advocates of the Vedanta claim that it gives us the true basis for our duty towards our fellowmen. Love your neighbor *as yourself*, says the Bible. Love your neighbor *because he is yourself*, says the Vedantist. And here Vedantist and New Theology meet. We may well ask that if your neighbor is yourself, how does it happen that you are so frequently in conflict with him. This altruism, which is proclaimed by Vedantist and New Theology alike, becomes nothing more than selfishness—a contradiction in terms. And what it does for ethics it does for religion—makes it too impossible. The only worship possible under it is self-worship. If man is identical with God, whom can we worship but ourselves, to whom are we accountable, who shall be our judge? Vedantism has had a blighting influence on religion and morality in India and elsewhere, and the only escape for its advocates from the argument of its evil fruits is that we must follow the truth regardless of consequences. It has been proved and found wanting. Yet even in its failures India may glory in its achievements. Unaided human thinking never gave a more satisfactory account of this universe in which we live. India found both the unity and essence of all things in God. Whatever evidences of the senses it had to sacrifice, it kept the reality of God and indeed made Him the only reality. This is its glory and whatever permanent influence it and its followers will have for good will be due to this great central fact of God.

Hindu speculation never had any direct influence on early Christian thinking. When we come to consider the other branch of Aryan thought—that of the Greek—we come to the culture that gave form to the early Christian creeds. To give even a summary of its contribution to Christian thought would exceed the limits allotted to a lecture. Only the most general outline

can be attempted here.⁷ The religion of the Greeks always stood for the humanization of the gods. The time came when the thoughtful threw off the grosser anthropomorphisms of the earlier period. The statement of Xenophanes that if the oxen or the lions had hands and were able to draw pictures or carve out statues like men, they would have given their own forms to the gods, is the classical expression of this protest. Philosophers then took up the search after unity unfettered by the shackles of the old religion, unfettered also by any authoritative book such as the Vedas of India. Philosophy in Greece had an opportunity to meet men's religious needs—if philosophy alone could meet them. And when its intellectual acumen alone is considered it must be confessed that it made good use of its opportunities, for the new roads of our modern philosophers have all been traveled by those of ancient Greece; but they gave men no religion. They began with the naturalism of the old nature philosophy of the Ionians and Atomists.⁸ These rendered a God superfluous. The Eleatics declared Him to be like men neither in body nor in mind, and so Parmenides, like Sankara in India, made God unknowable. This was followed by the vagaries of the Sophists, perhaps inevitably so. Socrates rescued philosophy from the contempt into which they had threatened to bring it by turning its gaze inwards and making it the promoter of virtue. Plato, his pupil, extended to the universe the Socratic conception of the moral life. Plato regarded the world as an embodiment of eternal ideas and these he groups under one Supreme Idea, the Good or Goodness. Along with the Good are Reason and Beauty. This ideal theory is opposed to materialism and is deduced from the evidence of reason, goodness and beauty in the world. Aristotle's theory is more scientifically worked out. He does not, like Plato, separate the ideas from the world, but regards them as energizing in the world. Only the highest Idea, God, is wholly immaterial. God could have no worthy object outside of Himself and so he made God's life to consist in calm self-contemplation. In Plato and Aristotle Greek speculation rose to its highest. They answered both materialism and agnosticism by pointing men to the rational order in the world

⁷ The reader is referred to Caird's *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers* for a statement of these.

⁸ In this summary free use has been made of Illingworth's *Personality, Human and Divine*, Lecture III.

which demands a rational cause. When, however, the question is asked whether they regarded God as Personal or Impersonal, they give no clear answer. Aristotle included ethics in his philosophy but, unlike Kant, he found God revealed in the pure reason while to the moral sphere, with all its imperfections, he could not relate God and so he does not invest Him with moral attributes. He is the unmoved mover, the source of all motion. The very exaltation of God, whether as pure goodness or as calm contemplation, made the task of relating him to an imperfect world so difficult that the tendency in Greek thought is constantly to dualism. This in Neo-Platonism, led to the view of God's transcendence with a graded transition of emanations from the infinite to the finite, which later perpetuated itself in the Gnostic heresies. Long before this arose, however, Aristotle's dialectics had run to seed in the naturalism of the Epicureans and the Stoics and the general scepticism which marked the conclusion of Greek philosophy. Its best has been conserved in its contribution to Christianity. It gave the Christian creeds their form. It did more. In answering materialist and agnostic by an appeal to the rational order of the world we have advanced very little beyond the Greek philosophers. The unity of the natural and the spiritual which it all along assumed, has been the guiding principle in Christian thought. The rational principles immanent in nature, of Aristotle, is not far removed from the conception of God immanent; the God in calm contemplation is God transcendent of our Christian terminology. Where Greek philosophy failed, and failed because the needed light of revelation had not yet appeared, was in its failure to apprehend God as a Personal Being and, as such, as the Moral Governor and Ruler of the world. When, however, these truths had been revealed, its world-view was such that it could readily appropriate it, understand it, explain it and defend it.

Into this Greek search after unity came in due time the needed new element. It is the Semitic contribution. The Semitic mind, unlike the Greek, did not work by processes of ratiocination. It saw the great truth that God is one only intuitively. It began with revelation. Abraham, leaving his idolatrous surroundings at the call of the one God, is the great embodiment of this idea. All of the great monotheistic faiths—Jewish, Christian, Mohammedan—have had their origin with him. From

that time on for two thousand years, till Christ came, the truth of one God struggled against and prevailed over all idolatrous cults. In this God, moral attributes are the supreme, one might say the only, ones—so exclusively do the prophets dwell on God's righteousness and truth. Little wonder that the faiths that have laid their grip on the world and are destined to subdue it have been given us by the Semites.

Yet here, too, we must notice how, though God's unity was emphasized, man's kinship to God by being made in His own image maintained, the facts of moral evil admitted and explained, there yet was a constant tendency so to exalt God to the infinite regions beyond as to leave a practical dualism. God stood in heights unapproachable; angels, the Word, Moses—these the mediators; a world itself of the nature of evil at the other end of the scale—this was the tendency of later Judaism.

In its view of God Mohammedanism is an illustration of this tendency. It has some noble elements in it derived from the Old Testament. There is the conception of God as Life and Knowledge, Power and Will, and His unity is insisted on everywhere with the fanaticism of iconoclasts who can tolerate no other god. Submission to God is taught, the very word Islam meaning submission. The Koran gives as the most frequent title of Allah, the Merciful and Compassionate. But Allah is not ethical; and a mercy which is not ethical is only the encouragement of evil. In the Bible the mercy of God leads to repentance; in the Koran it leads to indulgence. The doctrine of God in the Koran "is repressive of freedom and the reason is that it is after all no more than negative. Allah is but a negation of other gods; there is no store of positive riches in his character... He remains eternally apart upon a frosty throne; his voice is heard but he can not condescend. He does not enter into humanity and therefore he can not render humanity the highest services." (Menzies). While allowing for the richer positive conceptions of God given all through the Old Testament, it is yet true that in the above estimate we have both the strength and the weakness of the Semitic conception of God. But into this stern monotheism and its uncompromising denial of other gods, came a new and a positive element. That was Christ Jesus. He did not come after the manner of the schools to answer abstruse questions of speculation. The fact of the unique life of

Christ came first; and then the gradual explanation of the fact in the doctrine of the Person of Christ. In the simplicity of the process it is akin to the discovery of gravitation from so simple a fact as the falling of a stone. Christ answered no deep questions concerning the Godhead. And yet Paul apprehended rightly that in Him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. (Col. 2:3). The one who believes in evolution must above all others be impressed with the marvellous way in which Semitic theology and Aryan speculation are focussed in an attempt to understand the Christ. To the believer in a guiding providence, it can not be a matter of chance that the solution of the Person of Christ was committed to those who had penetrated deepest in their search after God and so by religious training and intellectual skill were best fitted for the task.

Too much emphasis can not be laid on the importance of approaching the Doctrine of the Trinity in the way it was reached by the early Church. Christ had appeared. The one incontestable fact about Him is that He so impressed men that those who knew Him best worshipped Him as God. That He is the Son of God, the Only-Begotten, coming from the Father, to live and die for sinful men, is the predominant note in the entire New Testament. His own promise of another Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth, was not only matter of belief, but a truth testified to by a living, joyful experience. These are the new facts which Christianity brought and which called for explanation. There is an attempt now to account for the doctrine of the Trinity from Greek speculation. Witness, they say, the form of the creed itself, especially the Athanasian. Its sentences are the statements of the schools. Its vocabulary, as witness the words *essence*, *substance*, *indivisible*, *unconfused*, are those with which Greek philosophy and not the New Testament has familiarized us. Let us admit the contribution thus made. We may even admit that the Greek mind, with its love for speculation, emphasized the metaphysical more than the practical aspects of the doctrine. But this must not blind us to the fact that the new elements which can not be found in Greek speculation and which are not accidental but essential to the Christian Doctrine of God are the facts of Christ and of the Spirit. From the facts thus to be explained the doctrine of the Trinity came to be formally stated. This was the work of the Ecumenical Councils. The

long series of controversies which they cover began with the Arian controversy regarding the divinity of Christ. The Councils of Nicaea and of Constantinople asserted the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit and they did it by using the data furnished by Christ Himself. Were proof needed of this, it would be sufficient to point to the fact that whenever the orthodox creed is denied the Christian Scriptures are first impugned.

Too much stress can not be laid on the fact that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is due to the fact of Christ and not to prepossessions or notions foreign to the Bible. In the formula Father, Son, and Spirit, Christianity gave formal statement of the truth of God out of its own resources. Yet though a truth reached not by deep metaphysical speculations, but by the explanation of the fact of Christ, it gave men a conception of God that is distinct from all others. Other religions have deified great heroes but they have done it by sacrificing the truth of God's oneness or giving it a pantheistic interpretation. The Christian conception of God asserts His unity and here is in accord with the best religious thinking of all faiths. Through Christ, as God Incarnate, it attained to the clear conception of God as a Personal Being, yet not limited but infinite in wisdom, power, and goodness. The full significance of this truth can not be realized unless viewed in the light of men's failure in their deepest speculations to ascertain whether God is Personal or Impersonal. The Christian conception of God lays chief stress on His moral attributes. His righteousness, goodness and love are revealed in Christ Jesus. These, as found elsewhere, if found at all, are but as faint shadows as compared with the full splendor of the noon-day sun. The Christian conception of God makes Him the Creator and Sustainer of all things—the Source of the creation, yet distinct from it and in this is differentiated from every form of Pantheism. Further it declares this Personal Being to be a Trinity—Father, Son and Holy Ghost—and here it is unlike any view of God found in any other faith. In this time when the History of Religions analyzes and classifies different views of deity and often leaves the impression that they are only different in kind, it is especially important that we hold clearly the uniqueness of the Christian conception of God. Greek thought gave it formal statement but the conception is not Greek. It

goes back to the unique revelation in the Bible, and especially to Christ who is that revelation of God in its fulness.

The Christian conception of God is also unique in its being a practical doctrine and not one of chiefly speculative interest. It is true of every religion that its view of God largely determines its character. An unmoral or immoral god never yet became the basis of an ethical religion. But it is pre-eminently true of Christianity that the entire religion that goes under that name is latent in its conception of God. Its view of creation, of incarnation, of man, of human obligation, of sin, of atonement, of sanctification, are all vitally related to its conception of God.

Sometimes creeds are denounced as hindrances rather than aids to faith. Dogmatists are supposed to take a delight in making them and forcing unwilling people to confess them. On the contrary, the statement of the Christian conception of God was made only because in the controversies that threatened the very existence of Christianity such statement was made necessary. There are not a few who believe that the conflict of the twentieth century will be fought out on similar lines, only this time it will be with the great Asiatic faiths. In meeting India's subtle Pantheism, or the Buddha's ethical religion, or Islam's Deism, the Church will simply be compelled to make clear and plain the Christian conception of God and must be prepared to defend the same. These three great faiths, all of which are in a state of revival, will have to be met. And they represent every phase of anti-Christian teaching. That the struggle is imminent may be shown by the influence that India's Pantheism already has exercised over the thought of Germany and parts of America. Buddhism, which provides for evolution without regard to God, and teaches ethics apart from any belief in God, is already making its converts in the West. Islam's Deism no longer has the charm of novelty in the West that the other two faiths have, and yet in that stern uncompromising form of monotheism to which the very thought of a Trinity is abhorrent it is perhaps the most widely prevalent of all three of these faiths. Dr. Richter, who knows world conditions as few men know them, foresees the coming struggle and believes that missionary apologetics, though the latest, will yet be the most important missionary science. He calls upon the Lutheran Church of to-day to prove itself the worthy descendant of that ancient Church of Luther on which

friend and foe alike bestow the title of orthodox. Already there are some who have accepted the challenge, but the very revival of these faiths, due in the first place to their contact with Christianity, makes the defense of the Christian conception of God more imperative than ever if Christianity is to meet and triumph over these ancient cults.⁹

In the defense of the Christian Doctrine of God, it will be the Tri-Personality of God—one is compelled to use the term for want of a better—that will be most generally attacked. One must frankly acknowledge the mystery of the Holy Trinity. It is a unique doctrine. Yet even it must commend itself as the fulfillment of much that appears in other faiths. Christlieb remarks that the history of the chief religions of the world itself affords so many collateral supports to our Trinitarian conception of God, as to have given rise to the assertion that primeval humanity must in some shape or other have possessed the knowledge of the Triune God, which thence was transmitted in a distorted form to the heathen religions..... *A trinity of deities is common in all nations.*"¹⁰ In India, perhaps the most religious country in the world, triads meet one everywhere. The mystic syllable *Om* (=Aum) which the Hindu regards just as sacred as the Jew regarded the name Jehovah, is generally held to refer to the three chief Vedic gods. Then there is the *Trimurti*, which one might translate the Tri-Personal;—Brahma, Creator; Vishnu, Preserver; Siva, Destroyer. There is also the three-faced Brahma, the trident as the symbol of Vishnu, and the three chief characters of Siva,—Destroyer, Restorer and Yogin or Ascetic. Even the rude village goddesses go by threes—the goddess and her two sisters. The Vedic gods are a multiple of three-33; so are those of the Hindu pantheon—330,000,000. Triads meet one everywhere. In China, Egypt, Chaldea, Babylonia, Greece, in the Norse mythology and among the American Indians, in countries most diverse, are found instances of this fact.¹¹ Nor are they found only in the cruder mythologies but also in the higher

9 Attention is called to Dilger's *Salvation in Hinduism and Christianity*, (Basel Mission, Mangalore, India), and to Warneck's *A Living Christ and a Dying Heathenism* (F. H. Revell & Co.) both by Lutheran authors which stand unrivalled in missionary apologetic literature.

10 *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*, p. 266.

11 Compare Christlieb's *Modern Doubt &c.*, pp. 266-268 and Söderblum's *Holy Triads*, Third Congress History of Religions, Vol. I., pp. 391-410.

speculations of Sankara in India, the *Sacchidananda* referred to above, and of Plato, whose trinity of supreme ideas is goodness, intellect and will. In Egypt (Osiris, Isis and Horus), among Zoroastrians (Ahura-Mazda, his wife and his son), and among Gnostic sects, (father, mother, son), the family is the unit in which the triad appears. There are not wanting Christian thinkers who believe that the family may in a very real sense be a reflection of the relationship in the Godhead.¹² There is a psychological reflection of it that some believe we may see in the structure of the human mind. A trinity is postulated for being—spirit, matter and that which unites them—for knowledge—subject, object, and that which transcends them. Time is threefold, space has three dimensions. It may not be mere fancy that sees in all these some impress of Him who ordained them. There is another order of trinities found in religions. It is represented by that of Buddhism—the Buddha, (the Enlightened One), the Dharma (the Law), and the Sangha (the Order). Practically we find the same in Judaism represented by Jehovah, Torah and Israel. Mohammedanism has a similar one in Allah, Mohammed and Islam. The Dean of Lund thus generalizes from these: “In all religions there is, (1) the conception of a God or at least of something above us and our world; (2) the conception of a reality meeting us in this world of ours, a reality in which the divine with its power of salvation is to be found in some way as an object of nature, as a human being or otherwise; (3) the conception of a divinely influenced and therefore holy manner of behavior in contrast with the every-day worldly life.”¹³ Stated more briefly we have in each Revealer, Revealed and Result. It hardly needs to be pointed out how perfectly the Christian Trinity fulfils what all these indicate. It gives us God, God revealed, and God influencing men, and that in a simple and perfect form. It is not pretended that any nor all of these prove the doctrine of the Trinity. It does, however, commend the doctrine to us when we see it perfectly filling a need of which all religions feel themselves conscious. Christ came not to destroy but to fulfil. In meeting other faiths we are justified in showing, as He did to the Jews, that He destroyed nothing that is good but gave it full and complete expression. These

¹² Compare Illingworth's *Doctrine of the Trinity*, pp. 130, 131.

¹³ *Holy Triads* (as above) pp. 409, 410.

gropings after a truth need such fulfilment. Even at their best they are poor aside of the richness and fulness of the conception of God that we have in the Christian Trinity. They represent no more than modes of operation, some of them not even beneficent, such as creation, preservation and destruction. The Christian doctrine puts the personal distinctions *in* the Godhead and makes these the source, means and agency of all that wondrous redemptive power that Christianity stands for. It gives hope for our salvation and that of a lost world to find that salvation is rooted in and founded on the character of God Himself.

But equally with the call to defend the Tri-Personality will come the necessity to defend the Personality of God. Here the keenly intellectual Brahman will have to be met on his own ground. Already the revival of Hinduism makes itself felt in an intellectual attack on this part of the Christian creed and Hindus are even sending their Swamis to Europe and America to propagate their views. Their literature in India is in English rather than in the vernaculars. The Brahman himself is one of the keenest intellectual opponents to be found anywhere. But even this doughty opponent is reinforced by a large part of the advanced thought of the West. Herbert Spencer is especially influential among modern educated Hindus. They are not yet as conversant with German thought but one can not but view with anxiety the support that they will get from this source when once it becomes accessible to them. The old apologetics did not dwell on the Personality of God for the question had not then been seriously raised. At present it is the all-important question for Christian theology to elucidate and defend.

Those who deny that Personality can be predicated of God insist that the very statement implies limitations which would bring God into the sphere of the finite. If man were the measure beyond which personality could not rise, this argument would be valid. Yet even so we see in man possibilities of almost infinite development. As Lotze says, however: "In point of fact we have little ground for speaking of the personality of finite beings; it is an ideal, and, like all that is ideal, belongs unconditionally only to the Infinite. Perfect personality is in God only; to all finite minds there is allotted but a pale copy thereof; the finiteness of the finite is not a producing condition of this

personality but a limit and hindrance to its development.”¹⁴ Infinite Personality is the answer to those who claim that personality limits. And the intelligence and moral order in the world can only be explained by postulating such a Personal Being as the source of this universe. The order and thought in the world are more wonderful the deeper men penetrate into its secrets. The source of it all must be an intelligent Being and this can be predicated only of Personality. The power of righteousness not ourselves which is manifest in the constitution of nature and the order of history also requires that the source of all things be the Moral Governor of this universe; this, too, calls for a Personal Being. The only escape from such a conclusion is the Pantheism that obliterates moral distinctions, or the Agnosticism that refers them to an order of things of which we know and can know nothing. The rational and moral order in the universe will, indeed, carry us beyond mere Personality to relations within that Personal Being such as are expressed by the doctrine of the Trinity. In knowledge there must be an object as well as a knowing subject. Now Aristotle made God Himself the object of His own knowledge and so removed Him to the infinite heights of calm contemplation, not much different from the pure knowledge of Sankara. If creation supplies God with an object, it adds something to complete God, and His absoluteness in Himself disappears. If also the creation adds self-revelation, if that is not already a constituent part of the Godhead, then creation becomes necessary to complete God and again His absoluteness disappears. The relations in the Godhead are needed if God is to be the Absolute. Now these are metaphysical and do not have for our age the force that a former age allowed them. But when we come to the moral order the same metaphysical argument becomes exceedingly practical. Holiness and love both involve relations with others. Only thus can they become actualized. Are they then merely potential in God until He creates other beings, when they become actual? If so God would become dependent on His creation for the realization of His perfections and so would not in Himself be the Moral Absolute. As men will think, and sooner or later speculate, it may not be amiss to regard the illuminating light which answers

¹⁴ Lotze's *Microcosm* 9:4, 4. Quoted in Illingworth's *Personality, Human and Divine*.

some of the difficulties of thought as a sign, at least, of the truth of this conception of God. To one who believes that righteousness is the habitation of God's throne, that it must be rooted and grounded in God Himself, this becomes a positive conviction as he sees that this and this alone makes the Ruler and Sustainer of all things perfect in goodness, love, and all other moral perfections.

Should, however, the above be too abstractly metaphysical for an age that is practical, we may come to the practical bearings that such a conception of God has for men. It gives life a meaning for it makes communion and fellowship with God possible. This it does because it allows for the incarnation. Incarnation is known to Pantheistic thought. In reality, according to it, everything is an incarnation of God. It is altogether in accord with this view of God that Vishnu became incarnate as a boar, and as a man-lion, as well as in human form. And why not since all are parts of God? This has ever been the argument of the thoughtful among Hindus in favor of idolatry. The Personality of God makes the Incarnation of God in human form alone possible. This makes us partakers of the divine nature and in this life gets a glorious meaning. Have you ever thought if it, that apart from the incarnation of Christ life has no worthy goal? No worthy reason can be given for our existence except as the light Christ's incarnation sheds on it enables us to interpret it. Buddhism is sometimes held up as a model of resignation. So it may be, if submission to the inevitable can be called resignation. Even Pantheistic India deserts its creed and worships not the God without attributes of whose knowledge her scholars boast but, instead thereof, personal gods of a subordinate character, who can love and sympathize, to whom men may be united by devotion, and in whose glory they may share. Fellowship with God already may imply the holding of man to high ideals in morals and character. It needs to be emphasized separately though that this ultimately is dependent on man's belief in a Personal God. As has already been pointed out, if Pantheism be the solution of the riddle of the universe, then all moral distinctions disappear. If they do not disappear it is because men are better than their creed, but in the end they will sink down to its level. It is a pathetic illustration of this fact that Sankara, the apostle of the Vedanta in India, is believed by his

disciples to have stooped to the sin of adultery in order to perfect his knowledge. Whence comes the agitation at present in our Christian countries for the throwing off of all external restraints but from those who are saturated with this very kind of pantheistic thought? You can not divorce life from thought very long. Like gods, like people, is a proverb which the East not only made but which it also abundantly illustrates. The Personality of God, yes, the Tri-Personality of God, with holy love placed on the throne of the universe is needed if men are to go on towards moral perfection. To one who believes that this is the end not only of ourselves as individuals, but also of this world in which we live, what can be more reasonable than that God Himself should so influence men, renewing and quickening them, as to make this goal realizable? And how perfectly this is met by the Spirit's work! The longer, the more deeply, and the more reverently we contemplate the perfect adaptation to human needs of the Christian Doctrine of God, the more must we be persuaded of its supernatural character. It is a doctrine that is not barren but exceedingly fruitful. It has value. We need not argue with the Pragmatist that value makes truth for us, nor with Ritschlianism that in matters of faith we are not concerned with judgments of truth but only with judgments of value, in order to use this as the chief argument for the truth of Christianity's conception of God. Though value does not make truth, it is, in this rational world which God has made, in the long run, a sure sign of truth. If it be remarked that this is not demonstration, reply may be made in the language of the late Prof. Borden P. Bowne on the subject of miracles: "Any great consistent system which fits into life and which upholds and inspires life is its own proof. The Christian system with its history and its present position at the head of all the influences that make for human uplift is great evidence."¹⁵

It is not pretended that any or all of the arguments given or that can be given amount to complete demonstration that the Christian conception of God is the true one. As Bishop Butler long ago showed, in matters of human conduct we are guided by probability. The Christian Doctrine of God rests on the Christian revelation. But the illuminating rays it sheds on all the

¹⁵ *Literary Digest*, Mar. 26, 1910.

deep questions of human thought and life must certainly commend the doctrine to men. The power of the Gospel alone, however, which is only the expression of the fulness of the grace rooted in and flowing out of the God revealed in Christ, can give us full assurance for ourselves and confident hope for ultimate victory in the greatest struggle in which Christianity has yet been engaged. Only let it be emphasized that strength for those engaged in the conflict will come from a very positive assurance that though there are infinite depths in God which our finite minds can not sound, the God revealed to us in Christ Jesus is the true and only God.

There are abroad at present the apostles of the New Theology who claim to have found the permanent elements in the Christian Doctrine of God. They use the old words but with a changed meaning. They may even go so far as to believe that the Trinitarian Creed was true for the early Church, as it was an honest interpretation of a real experience. If they would only claim that the truth needed restatement, one could agree with them. But they believe the early conception of God as Triune needs not restatement but alteration. God is one; as Father he is Creator and Sustainer of all things, and is made known to us as Love; God in Christ is the Son; God in us is the Holy Ghost. Instead of personal distinctions in the Godhead we again have only different modes or rather spheres of operation. This new creed uses the Trinitarian formula but denies its substance. It is Unitarianism in disguise. In the end it deifies man, and becomes humanitarianism. It gives man no worthy object of desire whereby he may erect himself above himself, whence he may derive an indefectible rule of conduct, a constraining incentive to self-sacrifice, an adequate motive for patient endurance. This new religion does not speak with the authority needed to be a guide in life much less to conquer and uplift a world. Unitarianism maintains no missions. Dr. Horton points out that Agnosticism has really demolished the Unitarian position: "For Agnosticism, as it appears in the philosophy of Spencer, has made mankind realize that God apart from revelation is unknown and unknowable. Unitarianism always started from an assumed knowledge of God; and knowing or thinking that it knew what God was it denied that Jesus was God. But Agnosticism has taught us that

we do not know so much of God as we thought we did; indeed we have no such *a priori* knowledge of God as can justify us in saying that Jesus is not God. God is unknown and unknowable but not otherwise known than as the cause of phenomena. In face of this Agnostic position, Unitarianism wakes to the discovery that the God it knows or thinks it knows, it knows only from and through and in Jesus. The Father who cares for men and loves them, the Redeemer who seeks to save and recover them, the unswerving and omnipotent Love that will not let men go, is known in one way and in one way only, by the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus. Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam do not know this God. Science philosophy, natural religion do not know Him. But since He is known only in Christ, it is impossible to use the idea of such a God to discredit the soul or consciousness in which alone it was found."¹⁶ This would show that if the choice were between Unitarianism and Agnosticism, the latter would be the more reasonable. But Agnosticism also is unscientific. It is unscientific to refuse to give due recognition to the one fact of men everywhere—their search after God. Let me yet quote the reply of a scientist to the Agnostic attitude: "Can we believe, in view of all that we have learned from the study of nature, that behind the purest of our religious beliefs there is no reality, that they are, as many of those who profess to be authorities on comparative religion tell us, pure inventions, delusions of the non-critical intellect and delusions of the over-confident will? Their contention seems to be: thus and thus have these religious conceptions grown; here is their method of elaboration, therefore there is no reality behind them. This is a conclusion that the premises do not warrant. As a biologist I cannot but believe that every enlargement of human faculty has reference to actual external existence..... That the stages of religious appreciation have been correlated with the progress of evolution in human capacity is historically demonstrable; but it is more consistent with what we know of the course of evolution to believe that these emotions and feelings which are far more dynamic in the life of humanity than the concepts of the intellect, should be related to something in the character of God than that they

¹⁶ Horton's *My Belief*, pp. 107, 108.

should be baseless and unrelated. If life is to be intelligible, these, on account of their insistence and worth, must have their proper place in its scheme and it seems to me impossible to regard them otherwise than as real approaches of worshippers to a real object of worship."¹⁷ To disregard the fact of religion, man's quest after God everywhere, the fulfilment of every noble religious aspiration in that conception of God which has been revealed to us by Christ Jesus—to refuse to think through what these involve is not scientific. And when all the facts of man's religious nature are given their true place, all the questions involved in the mystery of creation pondered, all the sublime truths revealed by Christ and all the forces at work in the world through that spiritual kingdom established by Him through the Holy Spirit, a kingdom never more regnant than to-day, properly estimated, it will have to be admitted that the best confession of our faith still is the confession of our fathers—One God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

Gettysburg, Pa.

¹⁷ Prof. A. Macalister, *The Faith of an Evolutionist*. EXPOSITOR, Jan. 1910, pp. 12, 13.

ARTICLE II.

PROFESSOR VON DOBSCHÜTZ ON SLAVERY AND
CHRISTIANITY.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER, D.D.

There was a time when the relation of the Bible (especially the New Testament) and the Early Church to slavery was a very live question in America. An immense literature gathered around it. In the library of Drew Theological Seminary we have about 1000 books and 2500 pamphlets on slavery, of which no small part consists of discussions and arguments on the Biblical and ecclesiastical—historical side. I have never ventured to wade through these troubled waters. For a present day Church historian the question no longer exists. To find out the historical facts he simply studies in a quiet impartial spirit the historical documents and then compares his results with what other historians, who write from a purely scientific point of view, have found. But still one cannot refuse a look of admiration at those great gladiators North and South who fought over all sides of that burning question. There were three views: (1) That the Bible and ancient Christianity fully indorsed slavery as an apparently permanent institution, which had full rights in a Christian civilization. (2) That slavery was counter to the deeper current of the Bible, and to the feeling and religious conscience of the ancient Church, which opposed it wherever possible. (3) That slavery was recognized as a valid institution, inwoven in Greek and Roman life, which Christianity took for granted; still there was a consciousness of its inconsistency with Christian ideals of freedom and brotherhood, and the Church whenever possible opposed it or tried to do away with it. But we may leave our noble fathers' books North and South to rest quietly on their dusty shelves. It is, however, a vitally interesting question: What was the real relation of early Christianity to the institutions of the pagan world? That question was brought home to me again in reading Professor Ernst von Dobschütz's (University of Strassburg) article *Sklaverei und Christentum*

in the new (3rd) edition of the old Herzog *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, (XVIII 423-33 1906) edited by Professor Albert Hauck of Leipzig, and published by the Hinrichs of the same city. I shall first give a translation of that part of his article which concerns us, and then add a remark or two of my own.

After an interesting treatment of slavery in the Greek-Roman world, at the close of which he speaks of the philanthropic, Utopian, or socialistic fraternities or schemes which eliminated slavery, he says: Christianity had nothing in common with such aims. How false the attempt (as for instance of Kalthoff) is to derive Christianity from socialistic tendencies, from longings after emancipation of the proletariat, is shown just here. Christianity took over slavery simply as a necessary element of ancient civilization. Not even the thought that slavery is in principle reprehensible, and its abolition to be postponed only on account of circumstances,¹ is ever found in ancient Christian sources. In his parables Jesus simply presupposes the relation of master and slave (Mk. 13:34: Mt. 18:23 ff; 25:14 ff; Lk. 12:42 ff; 17:7 ff); not a word about its being wrong! Paul declares distinctly that Christianity does not do away with existing relations. Who is called as a slave shall abide as a slave, even when he could get freedom.² Also in the letter to Philemon he never indicates a wish to let Onesimus go free, not even in v.16; only mild treatment instead of the strict punishment which according to law and custom, would come to the runaway. As to the Jewish Christian societies we are not sufficiently instructed, in spite of Acts 12:13 (over against that perhaps Jas. 5:4, Mt. 20:1 ff). But everywhere in the Gentile Christian societies we find slaves, and indeed in great numbers. Here belong the people of Chloe (1 Cor. 1:2) those from the slave families of Aristobulus, of Narcissus (Rom. 16:10, 11) of the imperial house (Phil. 4:22). Still it is mistaken to represent the oldest societies as predominately slave societies. Celsus represented Christianity simply as a religion of the uneducated, slaves, women.

¹ So Möhler, also Baur, *Christentum und Kirche*, 369.

² This is the true sense of *ὑπακούειν* *χρῆσαι* in 1 Cor. 7:21 as is being more and more acknowledged (as for instance, by Uhlhorn, Weizsäcker, Heinrichi.)[†] Schmiedel, Harnack, in spite of Luther, Calvin, Neander, Hofmann, Godet and others).

Origen as to its form resents this imputation;³ it (Christianity) turns itself *also* to slaves. The exhortation to masters (Col. 4:1; Eph. 6:9, and especially 1 Tim. 6:2) presupposes slaves in Christian houses. After her escape Thecla with a great following of slaves appears with Paul.⁴ Clement of Alexandria rejects as others luxury and a numerous force of servants,⁵ but he also presupposes slaves in Christian houses.⁶ The Acts of Philip (66, p. 27. Bonnet) offer a good illustration where Hieros, the most conspicuous man in the city after conversion goes around not with a great following (*μετα ὀψυχίου και ὄχλου*) but only with two slaves.⁷

According to Apostolical Constitutions, 2:62, under the necessities of life for which Christians had to go to the annual market, slaves are mentioned. In the Acts of Thomas (c. 2) Christ Himself sells his "slave" Thomas as architect to an Indian merchant, an account imitated in the Preaching of Bartholomew (p. 70, Lewis). John serves as slave in a bath house.⁸ The desire of slaves to be emancipated, perhaps stimulated by the preaching of Christian freedom, was thoroughly opposed, particularly the demand to be bought free by the congregational funds.⁹ This would not only have financially over-burdened the societies, but would have created a suspiciously large mass of proletariat whose support would be a difficult thing. If the freedman had to support himself, then a dotation was generally attached to the emancipation.¹⁰ Only in cases where the Christianity of the slave was endangered did the society interfere.¹¹ Often well-to-do believers bought their brethren in order to free them.¹² It is also true that Christians willingly sold themselves as slaves in order to feed the poor with the proceeds.¹³

So it remained externally in the ancient Church. But in-

3 *Contra Cels.*, 3:44-9.

4 *Acta Apost. Apocr.* I, 266 (Lipsius).

5 *Paed.* 3:4.

6 *Paed.* 3:11; 3:12.

7 But comp. Chryses. in 1 Cor. Hom. 40.

8 *Acta Joh.* 15 ff. Ed. Zahn.

9 *Ign. ad Polycr.* 4:3.

10 *Salvian, ad Eccles.* 3:7.

11 *Mart. Pionii* 9.

12 *Hermas, Mand.* 8:10, *Sim.* 1:8, *Didasc.* 18, p. 91 = *Apos. Const.* 4:9, *Nius Perist.* 9:1 in Migne, *Pat. Gr.* 79:864; Jerome, *Ep.* 47.

13 *I Clem.* 55:2 (further references in Art.)

nerly many things were changed. The relation of master and slave received a new moral content, a new religious background. The mildness of the master and the fidelity of the slave appeared in heathenism the out-flow of personal good-heartedness, but with the Christian it was a principle. The masters were held to grant their slaves what was right (Col. 14:1), not to scold (Eph. 6:9; *Did.* 4:10), not to punish hard, which went as heathenish (Herm. *Sim.* 9:28, 8); and the slaves were as energetically exhorted to peaceful obedience (Col. 3:22 f.; Eph. 6:5 ff.; *Did.* 4:11) and willing suffering of undeserved punishment (1 Pet. 2:18ff.), and both master and slave referred to their final responsibility before the Heavenly Father. The brotherly relation was taken earnestly (Philem. 16), the abuse of it on the part of the slave was to be prevented (1 Tim. 6:2). To show true service to heathen masters is an honor to a Christian (1 Tim. 6:1; Tit. 2:9f.) Christ has not made slaves free, but has made of bad slaves good.¹⁴

In heathenism material interests still ruled. The lord cared for his capital by good treatment of his slaves, the slave for his welfare by true service to his lord. Christendom emphasized, on the other hand, the higher interests. Paul did not hesitate to injure the gains of the master by driving out the spirit of sooth-saying from the maid in Philippi (Acts 16:16 ff.) The saving of the human soul even in slaves, is the first duty. Therefore Christian masters endeavored to win to faith their heathen slaves, by persuasion, not by force.¹⁵ That they did not compel them to Christianity is shown by the fact that there were heathen slaves in Christian houses.¹⁶ According to Augustine the house father shall instruct his slaves as well as his children in the right worship of God.¹⁷

The Christian faith furnished, however, not only ethical motives, it gave the slave something which he could not find so easily elsewhere. Within the society he had the feeling of an equal standing as a man. If slaves had an entrance to other

14 Aug. *Enarr.* in Ps. 124:7, Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 37:1653. Comp. portrayal of Christian nursemaid in his grandfather's house in *Conf.* 9:8, 47.

15 Aristides, *Ap.* 15.

16 Eus. *H. E.* 5:1, 14; Athenag. *Suppl.* 35; Ap. Const. 4:12; Chrys. in Eph. Hom. 22.

17 Aug. *Serm. dom.* in *Monte* 1:59, *Civ. Dei.* 19:16.

religious societies,¹⁸ that did not impair the fact that in Christianity the fundamental principle of equality before God (1 Cor. 12:13; Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11—the difference between free and slave is done away, as well as the equal distinction between Greeks and Barbarians) was taken with real earnestness, even in the external relations in the assemblies. To be sure, for baptism of a slave the consent of his master was necessary, as with entrance to a guild or society.¹⁹ If the consent was declined the slave went as outside or extraordinary member. But the baptized slave enjoyed all rights. There was no distinction of place. Slaves became clergymen. We know from Hippolytus²⁰ that Bishop Callistus of Rome was formerly a slave; that he knew what the treadmill was and forced work in the mines of Sardinia; so we could conclude the same servile origin for the majority of the first Roman bishops; Evaristus and Anicetus are slave names. Pius is brother of the former slave Hermas. Of course they were mostly as freedmen advanced to leading positions, as was true also in the imperial administration. Slaves and female slaves who became martyrs were revered by the societies. We think of Blandina,²¹ Felicitas,²² Potamiae,²³ Porphyry,²⁴ Vitalis.²⁵ In the canon of Hippolytus (6:46 f., p. 68, ed. Achelis), it is provided that a slave who on account of his Christianity is scourged by his master has the rights of a confessor and the rank of a presbyter. Tertullian expects that Christian slaves of heathen masters will render them no service in offering to idols, and Peter of Alexandria places on Christian masters who make their slaves offer for them at the altars harder penances than those laid on the slaves themselves. On the epitaphs of Christian cemeteries there is never found the designation slave,²⁶ while on the other hand it is often that Christians are called "slaves of God" (1 Pet. 2:16; Apoc. 1:1; also in

18 Foucart, *Associations Religieuses*, 6 ff., Hatch, *Organization*, etc. 31 and note 14.

19 *Dig.* 47:22, 3:2. *Canon Hip.* 10:63. For judgment of Lewis the Pious's officers sq. Agobard, *Ep. ad proc. Palatii in Migne* 104:175.

20 *Philos* 9:12.

21 *Eus. H. E.* 5:1, 17.

22 See the *Acts of Perpetua*.

23 In Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 3.

24 *Eus. Mar. Pal.*, p. 78 ed. Violet (Cureton's Eng. transl. 41-3).

25 Ambrosius, *Exh. Virg.* 1, 2.

26 De Rossi, *Bullet.* 1866, 24.

Hermas. The expression was sometimes used in pre-Christian cults).

Stronger than the declamations of a Seneca and Epictetus are the short words of Tatian: "Am I a slave, then I bear slavery; am I free, I lay no store by noble birth."²⁷ So Irenaeus: "Of free and slave Christ makes children of God, sending to all equally the spirit who creates life."²⁸ And compare Origen: "We point to slaves, who have received a free spirit and have been enobled by the Logos."²⁹ "Worldly freedom and slavery are only appearances," says Tertullian.³⁰ Chrysostom calls them only names,—sin and righteousness are the realities.³¹ Slavery does not lower the slave, says Cyril of Jerusalem.³² Christian slaves were without distinction called Brothers.³³ "Nevertheless with us there are no slaves, but we regard them and call them brothers by the spirit, fellow-slaves by religion."³⁴ Practice may not always have corresponded with this ideal, but the Church stood for a good treatment of slaves even at home.³⁵

Especially Christianity fought with all energy against the sins which made the slaves of both sexes tools of vice. One reads what the Fathers say of prostitution—boys (used for unnatural lusts), etc.³⁶ To Christian influence is also to be ascribed the doing away by the Constantine legislation with the punishment of crucifixion and the branding of fugitives.³⁷

Von Dobschütz now takes up the relation of Christianity to slavery after the Church was firmly established by the State:

The Christian Church (he says) had taken over slavery as a part of ancient culture, and even when she attained mastery in the empire she never thought of doing away with it. The ordering of economic relations she referred to the State, and when later she inherited from the State, she inherited also the duty to

27 *Orat.* 11.

28 *Iren.* 4:21, 3.

29 *Contra Celsum* 3:54.

30 *De Cor.* 13.

31 *Opera* ed. Montf. I, 784, XII 346.

32 *Catech.* 15:23.

33 *Arist. Apol.* 15.

34 *Lact. Inst.* 5:16.

35 *Didasc.* 18; = *Apos. Const.* 4:6; *Syn. of Elvira* c. 3.

36 *Just Mar.* I, *Ap.* 27; *Tatian, Or.* 28; *Clem. Alex. Paed.* 3:4. *Comp. Seneca, Ep.* 15:3.

37 *Monmunsen, Röm, Strafrecht*, 921; *Marquard, Privatalt.*, 184.

protect standing rights. She was interested not in man's rights in slaves but only in his Christian faith. Yes, one has to say that the more Christian life became worldly, social distinctions were made the stronger and slavery the more severe, all inside efforts for equalization and amelioration to the contrary notwithstanding. Only in the monasteries was there a peculiar mixture of ancient Stoic and ancient Christian motives leading to the thought of equality, to the honors of man even to the slave. From here went the later transformation.

In consequence of the slave supply being greatly decreased on account of peace, and in consequence of the change from manorial estate to dairy farming, in place of the old slave law that of the colonists came in, that is, half free serfs who were personally free, who could not be sold, amenable to civil law and protected by it, but still bound to the soil.³⁸ Often slaves might be advanced to colonists, more often free peasants pressed down to colonists or half-free serfs. This economic and social change was due not to Christianity but to the breaking up of ancient civilization, and it appeared side by side with the serfdom of the conquered peoples in the newly-arisen German empire. And this later serfdom was itself due in part to the same agrarian impulse. As vassalage this form of serfdom has continued till modern times, and after the Thirty Years War it degenerated in the eighteenth century here and there into a form of bondage reminding one of slavery.³⁹ In all this the Church was as good as not interested. She had incidentally taken to herself those thus oppressed; from the half-free she had from time to time recruited her clergy.⁴⁰ She had herself, however, exercised the rights of master, and in the long run showed herself little capable of moral influence on these relations or of transforming them.

However, there were real slaves until the late Middle Ages. As *servus* designated both kinds of loss of liberty, the position of matters is not always clear. There was semi-slavery (serfdom, Hörigkeit); since the tenth century the word slave came out, according to the usual view in consequence of the German wars

38 *Cod. Theod.* 5:17; *Just.* 11:48, 50.

39 G. F. Knapp, *Die Landarbeiter in Knechtschaft und Freiheit*, 1891, 23. (I understand that this form of slavery still exists in parts of Germany).

40 Theganus, *Vita Ludov. Imp.* 20, in *Migne*, 106:411.

with the Slavs, according to Langer, first with the Venetians who imported Slavs from the Black Sea. Since the thirteenth century the word slave has spread in all languages. The Church herself possessed real slaves, and made good her rights in them as emphatically as any slave owner. Fugitives must be brought back and firmly held.⁴¹ The iron neck ring which came in for fugitives in place of the brand mark carried different Christian emblems.⁴² According to the mediaeval conceptions of law the slave was saleable property. Church canons of Wales and Scotland set the weregild for slaves. In the weightiest matters of life, such as marriage, the consent of the lord was necessary.⁴³ But he received (as in the Greek and later Roman legislation) a limited legal freedom and property-rights and the protection of the weregild (that is, his death by the fine of the murderer.) The Church took the slave in, in so far as she placed these legal norms under her protection, offered an asylum to the defenseless, and compelled to mild treatment.⁴⁴ His Sunday rest was assured.⁴⁵ She sought to make the masters responsible for the morality of their slaves,⁴⁶ and placed concubinage with a female slave under Church discipline.⁴⁷ What the imperial law had done before, the Church now assumed. Especially the making certain the freedom of those emancipated.⁴⁸ The different Churches exercised a kind of patronage over the emancipated.⁴⁹

Emancipations were customary even among the heathen in large measure, especially in case of death, where it was looked upon perhaps as a transformation of the original offering up of slaves to the gods.⁵⁰ With the Christians, especially since the coming over to Christianity of the rich and great in the fourth century, these emancipations greatly increased. But it was dis-

41 Greg. Great *Ep.* 9:30; Can. Orleans, A. D. 514, can. 32.

42 De Rossi, *Bullet.* I, 49-67.

43 Cl. Orleans, 514, c. 24.

44 Cl. Orl. 511, c. 3, of Epaon, 517, c. 34, 39, of Orl. 549, c. 22, of Macon 585, c. 8, of Clichy, 627, c. 9, of Chalons, 813, c. 51.

45 Cl. of Berkhamstead, 697, etc.

46 Benedict *Levita* 1:9.

47 Finniens' *Poenit* 39, 40, in *Wasserschleben*, 117, and L. K. Götz, *Alttrussische Kirchenrect*, 278.

48 Cl. of Orl. 549, c. 7, etc.

49 Cl. of Paris, 556, 573, c. 9.

50 *Acta Philippi* 81 (p. 32 ed. Bonnet); *Acta Petri c. Simone* 28 (p. 77 ed. Lipsius).

tinently understood that this was no duty of the Christians,⁵¹ but was estimated as an ascetic accomplishment on the same level as the renunciation of property. It did not happen on account of the slaves—on the contrary these often did not wish it⁵²—but for self-renunciation.. It did not belong to conversion to the Christian faith,⁵³ but to conversion in the later sense as entrance into the state of a monk.⁵⁴ Even in Islam emancipation of slaves was a meritorious work. The act was done, as before in the temple, so now in the Church before a bishop⁵⁵ The special way of emancipation in the form of a make-believe sale or an apparent gift to a God, to a temple, as the Delphic inscriptions have taught us,⁵⁶ are repeated here.⁵⁷

It was not the official Church, which felt herself the protectress of standing rights, but the monks who worked toward the doing away of slavery and finally accomplished it. And here the motives of a Stoic-Cynic philosophy were united with Christian thoughts. So in the theory of both Chrysostom and Augustine that slavery did not belong to the original state of man, but came in on account of sin (especially Gen. 9:25).⁵⁸ This monkish theory was given no practical effect by churchmen, but rather served to strengthen the right of the master in his slave and in the right of chastisement.⁵⁹ As a monkish career for souls Gregory I praises emancipation as a good work in words which remind one of the Stoic Jurists.⁶⁰ But as a bishop he held discipline over the slaves of his Church even unto cruelty.⁶¹ In fact Church canons forbade bishops and abbots to emancipate slaves, so that Church property would not become lessened⁶²

51 *Acta Petri et Andreae* 20 (ed. Bonnet, p. 126; *Ethopic Acts of Peter* p. 91, ed. Budge.

52 *Hist. Laus.* 61 (ed. Butler, p. 156).

53 The emancipations on account of baptism in Acts of Pope Alex. V. and of St. Sebastian are apocryphal.

54 (See references in article, p. 430, lines 49-53).

55 Soz. 1:96; Cod. Theod. 4:7.

56 Schürer, 3 Aufl. III, 53.

57 Examples in Möhler, *Bruckstücke ans der Geschichte der Aufhebung der Sklaverei*, in *Ges. Schriften*, II, 126 f., and in Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 99:659 (Cl. of Aquileja, 1351).

58 Chrys. *Op.* I, 782, etc., Aug. *Civ. Dei* 19:15.

59 See the patristic comments on 1 Cor. 7:21; Isid. of Pelus. *Ep.* 4:12, Migne, *Pat. Gr.* 78:1060.

60 *Ep.* 6:12.

61 *Ep.* 9:200.

62 Cl. of Agde 509, c. 7 and often.

Nevertheless such emancipations often happened. Church canons secured the right of possession of slaves to masters against the pretext of freedom on the ground of religion.⁶³ No slave could become a clergyman against the consent of his master, nor enter a cloister.⁶⁴ Runaways must be brought back.⁶⁵ The Church put up the bars again against social equalization. Even freedmen must be excluded from the clergy,⁶⁶ though later many serfs came in, and slaves were found in the monasteries without distinction.⁶⁷ In an epistle of recommendation by Isidore of Pelusium—compare with epistle to Philemon—for a slave who had run away on account of some transgression, he speaks out his surprise that a Christian who knows the all-freeing grace should yet have slaves;⁶⁸ in every case they are to be treated as men.⁶⁹ John the Eleemosynary knew how to impressively persuade hard-hearted masters to mildness, and in case of necessity to compel the selling of the slave.⁷⁰ The Church possesses slaves, but the cloisters shall not. Plato, abbot of Sacundion, near Constantinople, A. D. 782 ff., would not allow any slaves in his monastery,⁷¹ and Theodore of Studium, protested energetically in his Testament against any holding of slaves, adding the words, To a worldly Christian it is allowed, as marriage.⁷² Theodore of Canterbury declares—not correctly—that the Greek monks have no slaves, the Romans have.⁷³ Benedict of Aniane would not accept the gifts of serfs for his monastery with goods.⁷⁴ Theodore imposes penances on those who steal and trade in men.⁷⁵

This may suffice for von Dobschütz. I have also read the elaborate discussions of Professors Overbeck, Zahn and Lechler, the first from the point of view of one extremely unfavorable to Christianity as an anti-slavery force, the second and third of one

63 Cl. Gangra, 343, c. 3.

64 Leo I, *Ep.* 4:4; Cl. Chalc. 451, c. 4; Can. Apos. 81; Gelasius *Ep.* 9:14 (Migne 59: 52).

65 Cl. Orl. 541, c. 32.

66 Cl. of Elvira, c. 80.

67 Nilus, *Ep.* 4:4 (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* 79: 552).

68 *Ep.* 1:142 (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* 78:277).

69 *Ep.* 2:471.

70 *Vita* 33 (Ed. Gelzer, p. 65).

71 Migne *Pat. Gr.* 99:825.

72 *Ibid.* 99:1817.

73 *Poenit.* 8, in Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 99:931.

74 *Acta Sanctorum Ord. Bened.* I, 197.

75 Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 99:962, 966.

who tries to make the best showing possible for Christianity as an ameliorating power.⁷⁶ It seems to me that von Dobschütz has correctly stated the facts on their two sides, viz., that (1) the Church took slavery for granted like the institutions of the family, State, etc., and felt no consciousness of its radical incompatibility with the spirit and life for which she stood, but that (2) by making the slave a brother and conferring upon him all the spiritual privileges that she could bestow on anyone, she unconsciously undermined all forms of serfdom. The doctrine of the divine Fatherhood must ultimately work itself out toward equalization of human conditions in a way of which we have even to-day but little conception.

Madison, N. J.

⁷⁶ Overbeck, *Ueber Verhältniss der alten Kirche zur Sklaverei in römische Reiche*, in *Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche*, I. Schloss-Chemnitz, 1875, 158-230. Zahn, *Sklaverei und Christenthum in der alten Welt*, Erl. 1879, reprinted in *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, 2 Aufl. Erl. and Leipz. 1898, 116-159 and (notes) 345-351; Lechler, *Sklaverei und Christenthum*, 2 parts, Leipz. 1877-8 (Univ. Prog.)

ARTICLE III.

THE AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND ITS
COURSE OF STUDY.

BY REV. W. A. LAMBERT.

The real history of the American Theological Seminary has not yet been written; perhaps it is too early to expect it. It may be safe to assert, however, that when it can be written the history will explain the difficulties and the imperfections of the Seminaries, and excuse much which otherwise might seem almost inexcusable.

The simple fact that in America theology has been separated from the university has had far-reaching results. The American Theological Seminary from the beginning was placed upon the same footing as the German Prediger Schule, of which a German Review has recently written: "The purpose of these schools is to give such men as have not sought or could not find their preparation and education in the usual course, but in whom a strong desire for the theological calling afterwards was felt, a thorough theological and biblical-theological training, but at the same time also to serve such as desire to supplement their university studies. Looking upon the purpose of such a school we might from the outset become somewhat suspicious of the scientific character of the commentary under review. In such schools the danger is always present that the students are given finished results and are not introduced into the scientific work, which demands a comparison of various views." (Rudolph Steinmetz, *Theol. Lt. blatt.* Jan. 1, '09, Sp. 5). What is the exception in Germany became the rule in America, largely because the Seminary, separated from the university, continued college methods, and so offered the anomalous condition of a post-graduate course with undergraduate methods.

Another historic circumstance tended in the same direction: In America there was no State Church, but each Church was forced to maintain, defend and justify its separate existence. In order to do so, it was driven to study its origins, and to recall

the older teaching. The American Churches became more conservative than the European Churches and in their conservatism reached no modern questions. Their first problem was to find the solution reached by the fathers, and to stand by these solutions. For this university methods were not so necessary, the man could practically determine the historical fact, and become a recognized authority, from whom others must learn his results, without much inducement to go over the same historical material a second time.

A third historical factor in the making of our seminaries what they are, is the constant need for practical men. Their purpose has not been to produce theologians, but to prepare pastors. The first theory usually advanced is that the pastor need not be a theologian, or at least can succeed in practical work with a very moderate amount of theological education. And, as the Church is conservative, that education must consist in the inculcation of the results reached by the Church. History simply has repeated itself, and doctrinal theology assumed the controlling position as the days of orthodoxy.

These three historical facts may suffice to explain, although they may not alone have caused, the character of our Theological Seminaries. To them we can trace the conservative, collegiate and dogmatic nature of the instruction at the Seminaries.

Now, however, circumstances have largely changed. The Seminary still is separate from the university; but inasmuch as the churches almost without exception have provided excellent colleges, and require a college course for admission to the Seminary, the reason for retaining collegiate methods is entirely lost. The conservatism can still be retained, but not for the same historic reason. Our American churches have fully justified their separate existence on historic grounds; the question now confronting them is whether they can justify their separate existence on modern grounds; or, even more, whether they can justify the existence of the Church against modern thought and life. The conservatism must furnish the basis of progressiveness and aggressiveness. And while we still need pastors the contrast between pastor and theologian, although over-emphasized by the sects and by the people, needs so much more to be done away with as mischievous and unwarranted. So long as "theologian"

means a man trained in the historical positions of the Church, the contrast may be justifiable; but if "theologian" means a man trained in the problems which the Church faces to-day, how can the theologian be unpractical, or the pastor succeed in grappling with problems without adequate acquaintance with them? A one-sided, inadequate theological training may either unfit a man for practical work, or compel him to forget his theology or neglect it in order to succeed in the pastorate. Examples for both effects might be quoted. The deduction from this fact should not lead to a harsh judgment on the man so much as to a revision of the course of his preparation.

One more historical effect of the separation of the Seminary from the university is to be noted: In the university philosophy is co-ordinated with theology, and the theological student is expected to do some work in philosophy. The Seminary is not only separated from a philosophical faculty, but has grown into a spirit of distrust of philosophy. The leaders of the orthodoxy of the seventeenth century were philosophers of high standing. Their philosophy is antiquated. It becomes natural that those whose conservatism has led them to accept the old theology should not appreciate the new philosophy. Yet the new problems of theology, both theoretical and practical, are due largely to the new philosophy. Ignorance of the latter makes the theologian unpractical, because he is out of touch with his own time, and the spirit of the time.

A false pedagogical principle is involved in the conservatism of the Seminaries, and their acceptance of the collegiate method of instruction. The inculcation of facts is not a real preparation for life. The college which has its function in the inculcation of results is, therefore, not an adequate school for life. Hence the American colleges, forced by the exigencies of American conditions, into preparing men for life, tend more and more towards university methods. The distinctive feature of the university method is the introduction to problems, and to methods of solving problems. Its aim is not so much to furnish the graduate with a complete system of teachings, as to provide him with an abundance of unsolved problems, and the skill and interest to work at their solution. Implied in this is also the ability to see and to grapple with new problems.

This is the correct pedagogical principle for two reasons: What a man meets with in actual life are problems, not simply occasions for applying ready-made solutions. Secondly, every man naturally inclines toward conservatism so strongly that with the smallest modicum of truth he can become dogmatic. Add to the conservatism natural to him a strongly conservative education, and he goes out into life knowing everything, and learning nothing henceforth. Or if he is fortunate enough to learn something, it will be at the expense of distrusting everything he learned before. A conservative education naturally leads either to stagnation or to radicalism, or at least to an erratic course.

When complaint is made that the pastor no longer holds the position in the community which was once granted him and which he commanded, we must blame, not so much the Theological Seminary, as the historical conditions which made the Seminary what it is, and the Church, which has not made the Seminary what it should be. But here influences have worked in a circle. The conservatively educated ministry has upheld a conservative Seminary and demanded it, beyond the time when the conservative Seminary in that sense was useful and necessary.

What can be done to revise and improve? At least this: We can formulate and study ideals of what the course should be, and then strive toward realization of these ideals. The requirements to be made of such a course are hinted at above; it must be a university, not a college course; it must concern itself at least as much with the problems as with positions; it must not overlook the importance of philosophy; it must prepare for practical work by thorough acquaintance with the theology underlying the work; it must not over-emphasize dogmatic theology at the expense of any other department, either in the amount of time devoted to it, or in the influence given it in other departments. A further requirement should be readily admitted: it must give a thorough and complete survey of the entire field of theology, although it may not be possible to go into all details of every part. Then the detailed study of special portions should vary, if not yearly, at least frequently enough to guard against any lifelessness on the part of the teacher.

Coming to details, it seems a fair requirement of a theological course that it should acquaint the student with the contents, the

problems and the difficulties of every portion of the Bible. One of the serious faults of the conservative Seminary of America has been that it studied the Bible very much as the seventeenth century theologians studied it—for the dogmatic material contained in it. But such Bible study is radically out of joint with the time, and with the principles of Reformation theology. The Bible is to be known and studied for its own sake, and not for the sake of the system which has been derived from it. In a three years' course it should be possible to cover both the Old Testament and the New Testament with fair thoroughness. The New Testament in Greek is no difficult book for a college graduate, and a small book for the year's work. With proper guidance it could be covered three times, if necessary, in that time. Unfortunately the Old Testament in Hebrew is a sealed book to the college graduate as a rule. But to spend an entire year on the details of Hebrew grammar—by no means a theological study—seems at the best unfortunate. It should be possible to begin the study of the Old Testament at the beginning of the Seminary course and to continue it to the end—taking the English or the Greek text until Hebrew becomes usable. Systematic theology also should run throughout the course, its three divisions falling naturally to the three years—apologetics, dogmatics and ethics. Historic theology should run through the three years—Church History, History of Doctrines and Symbols as Modern History of Doctrines. Practical Theology should run through the three years, Homiletics, Pastoral Theology, Catechetics. And one man should represent philosophy, teaching Encyclopedia and Methodology, History of Religions and Philosophy of Religion.

The three years would then give the student the following:

I. Encyclopedia, Church History, Old Testament and New Testament, Apologetics, Homiletics.

II. Church History and Dogmengeschichte, O. T. and N. T., Dogmatics, History of Religions, Catechetics.

III. Dogmengeschichte and Symbolics, O. T. and N. T., Ethics, Philosophy of Religion and Pastoral Theology.

Given three hours a week to each study, a high estimate for some, each student would have eighteen hours a week throughout his course. Allowing for university methods, these could probably be reduced to twelve. Distributing the work of teaching

among six professors—less could hardly do justice to the branches and to the students—each professor would have at the utmost nine hours a week, with a possibility of reducing this to six.

Such a scheme may seem visionary, and must seem so, if we assume the collegiate, text-book method of study. With a university method, why should it not be possible?

Many details have not been touched upon in the above outline. Under Old and New Testament are included of course Introduction, History, Exegesis and Theology. But the arrangement of these, as of the details of every course should be left to the professor. He is not a college professor, with work prescribed, but a university professor, with a certain freedom as to the arrangement of his course, and the emphasis he may feel inclined to lay upon this or that portion of his work.

One word as to the distribution of the work to professors. Where professors have special preferences and abilities, it would certainly be well to consider these, and to agree among themselves as to the branches each may desire to teach. Especially should this exchange of subjects be arranged for whenever there is danger that a professor has grown old upon a subject, and has lost that freshness which is indispensable in the teacher.

The plan outlined above calls for six professors:

1. The philosophical professor, to teach Encyclopedia, History and Philosophy of Religions.
2. The New Testament professor, to teach all New Testament studies.
3. The Old Testament professor, to teach all Old Testament studies.
4. The professor of Dogmatics, to teach Apologetics, Dogmatics and Ethics.
5. The professor of History, to teach Church History, History of Dogmatics and Symbolics.
6. The professor of Practical Theology, to teach Homiletics, Catechetics and Pastoral Theology.

There are many branches of theology which might be inserted here and there—generally they fall as subheads to the main branches here indicated, and could be taught most satisfactorily in connection with these branches. Once grant that the Semi-

nary is a university school and not a college and the need of developing every distinct branch in all its details falls away. The course suggests much for the student to do after he leaves the Seminary. Through the acquaintance with problems and methods he becomes his professor's co-laborer in later years; he does not remain simply his professor's student.

South Bethlehem, Pa.

ARTICLE IV.

THE GENESIS OF THE "NEW MEASURE" MOVEMENT
IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THIS COUNTRY.

BY PROFESSOR DAVID H. BAUSLIN, D.D.

The story of the Christian Church in this country has often been told, but with primary reference to its external, institutional and political aspects. The religious life itself, its dominating motives, its characteristic experiences, its manifestations of spiritual power, its advancing and receding ideas of extravagant manifestation and expression, its wider relations and its deepest sources, has been somewhat less fully treated, accounted for, interpreted and classified. The writer has long cherished the desire to treat one phase of that religious life, particularly identified with one period of the history of the Lutheran Church with some degree of fulness proportionate to what he has come to deem its importance. He shall hope in this paper to present what, at the best, can be but a very incomplete survey of a field of investigation which he would gladly have traversed in a more leisurely and ample manner, did the limits of time and space permit.

The tendency of fanaticism is one of the perils attendant on the deep stirring of the religious feeling at any time. In every religious reaction there will surely arise two parties. The difference between those parties will be as to the extent to which the reactionary movement may be accorded welcome and endorsement. One party will on the whole be conservative, retaining very much of what is old, while the other party will incline to radicalism, reducing the old at least to a minimum and going oftentimes to the extent of eliminating it entirely.

The movement of which we write very soon led to division along the lines thus indicated and with some of the entailed results of that division we have yet to reckon. That this came in as a result is not surprising when we note carefully the character of this movement. It was not a "revival" in the broad and historic sense, but in the narrower signification, which has

grown up in recent centuries, of a particular method of doing Christian work and an unwarranted emphasis upon particular experiences and manifestations as tests of the genuineness of what was alleged to be "conversion." The new order the movement introduced had but meager respect for history and was imperious in its demands regarding what were the real tests of spiritual vitality. Not always content to live in peace with the old order, that was established and historical, it was quite determined at times to ignore that order altogether, if not to completely abrogate it, whenever and wherever that was possible.

What is known in the history of the Lutheran Church in this country, as the "New Measure Movement," was one phase of those successive waves of "revivalistic" fervor, attended with much fanaticism, that passed over this country at various times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That it was an abnormal and unhistorical importation from extra Lutheran sources, that it was an alien in our midst will at this day hardly be denied. That phrase, "new measure," stood for a type and as representing a system of religious activity which in some sections of the Church largely supplanted and antagonized methods which had been from the very beginning of its life associated with the genius and development of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. In the fourth and fifth decades of the last century what was technically denominated the "new measure" movement did not stand for a revival of religion in the best use of that word, but rather for certain extravagancies which seem to be inseparable from the introduction of certain revivalistic machinery. To use the language of the most authentic interpreter of the movement, it was associated with "solemn tricks for the sake of effect, decision displays at the bidding of the preacher, genuflections and prostrations in the aisle or around the altar, noise and disorder, extravagance and rant, mechanical conversions, justification by feeling rather than by faith, and encouragement to all sorts of fanatical impressions."

To understand the insignificance of the introduction of this movement into churches that had employed other methods through the entire period of their history, and to get at its genesis, we must see it related to other movements which had preceded it with great sweep of power and popular endorsement and

that were contemporaneous with its use in our Church. Three great waves of religious fervor of the revivalistic type had passed over this country, and they serve as a background upon which to study the "new measure" movement with its attendant "anxious bench" and a supplanted and derided catechism.

There was first of all the "great awakening," as it is known in the history of Christianity in this country, and extending from 1727 to 1750. That awakening came, as was not at all unphilosophical, as a great reactionary movement. It would be hard to overstate the sad state of contemporary morals. We read of the luxury and frivolity of the royal province which had supplanted the Puritan theocracy, of the increase of tavern loafing and profanity, of irreligion among the young, of the decline of orthodoxy among the mature, of the growth of heterodoxy and the deplorable and widespread introduction of a cheap foreign infidelity. The venerable pastor Stoddard of Northhampton, and the "Half-way Covenant," admitting to the Lord's table, such as had not even made a profession of personal piety, are generally interpreted by the historians of New England religious life, as reflecting the utterly lax ethical and spiritual standards of the time. But in the first half of the century there came the "awakening" which swept through the intellectual centers of the east and later the pioneer settlements of the west. Churches, colleges and communities in New England were profoundly moved and through the border states of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia an amazing and popular religious movement added thousands to the churches.

Speaking of New England Dr. Edward D. Griffin, of great revival fame, said, "I could stand in my door at New Hartford and number fifty or sixty congregations laid down in one field of divine wonders." The College Church at Yale, which is said to have dwindled to two members grew until it included half the students in the institution. "From the year 1800 to the year 1825," said Dr. Gardiner Spring, "there was an uninterrupted series of revivals. There was scarcely a time when we could not point to some village, city or school and say, Behold what God hath wrought." Thus from a condition of formalism and declension which to so great an extent had marked the religious life of New England, for more than two generations, the

churches were aroused by a spiritual quickening of so distinct and pervasive a character that it has passed into the religious history of the country as "The Great Awakening." With the movement were associated three great names, Jonathan Edwards, George Whitfield and John Wesley. Religious interest sprang up in a marvelous way in many places at the same time, as at Northhampton under the awful preaching of Edwards, in New Jersey under Gilbert Tennent, and among the Scotch Irish population of Pennsylvania. Whitfield went up and down the country addressing enormous crowds. He was a man of impulse rather than judgment, with a marvelous voice, extraordinary effectiveness in dramatic oratory and with a powerful influence over the emotions of all classes of people. Censoriousness and vituperative criticism of good men became features of the "awakening" and, as in a later time, such as did not fall in with the sweeping tide of religious excitement were denounced as unspiritual men as unconsecrated and unworthy hirelings. Good, useful and estimable ministers of the Word, heard not infrequently before their own congregations a general denial of their Christian character and their proper place in the ministry. Whitfield particularly was easily affected by the physical phenomena which usually attended his impassioned exhortations—the outcries, the ecstasies and the swoonings—and instead of repressing them as unessential, he so treated them, recorded them and gloried in them that they came in the common view to be looked upon as the necessary organs of a true revival, and were by many of this great orator's ardent followers and imitators, extravagantly encouraged and cultivated.

What was done in the colonies under the leadership of Edwards, Whitfield and the Tennents, John Wesley, who had been led into the truth under the impulse of the introduction to Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, did in England. The "awakening" coming thus as a reaction against a deplorable declension in religion, was in its turn followed by a reaction with results deeply lamented by Edwards in particular. Beginning in a burst of spiritual activity, which seemed, to use a phrase of its greatest leader, likely to make "New England a kind of heaven on earth," it ended in comparative coldness and torpidity in the sphere of religious life. Of the fifty years succeeding the

"awakening," Professor Davenport, the author of "Primitive Traits in Revivals of Religion," says, "It is doubtful if that section of the nation ever touched a point nearer the low water mark of popular indifference to the religious and moral life." Even Edwards, great of intellect and unblemished in life and a primate among preachers, was cast out of his pastorate and exiled to Stockbridge and the Indians by action taken in an atmosphere of acrimony most bitter and slander most gross.

Next in the order of these great revivalistic movements came that great wave of religious fervor among the Scotch-Irish in Kentucky and extending from 1800 to 1803. This, one of the most famous of the American religious tidal waves, occurred among a people Protestant to the core and with a striking fondness for theological argument, a people of whom one of their own countrymen wittily said that when the potato crop failed, they lived on the Shorter Catechism. In their character these people combine the shrewd practical common sense and intelligent purpose of the Teuton with the strong emotionalism of the Celt. This remarkable religious movement sprang out of a meeting held in the woods preparatory to the Holy Communion. This led to an epidemic of "Camp-meetings." Communities one after another were swept into the contagion of the fervid movement. Crops were left standing in the fields to care for themselves. Settlements were deserted and pioneers walked as far as fifty miles, fifteen thousand or more being present at a meeting at a place known as Cane Ridge. These campmeetings became the vocation of the people and as has been said, "Age snatched his crutch, youth forgot his pastime, the laborer quitted his task, the crops were left forgotten, the cabins were deserted, in large settlements there did not remain one soul."

Connected with this movement there were no great leaders as was the case with the New England movement. These backwoodsmen had been without much preaching and promptly accepted what they heard with remarkable emotional experiences. Presbyterianism had been the leading denomination, but the contagion and sweep of the campmeetings gave to the Methodists and Baptists the leadership in the Southwest. The most extravagant revivalistic phenomena marked the proceedings. There was laughing, leaping, sobbing, shouting, and swooning.

Little girls were stricken to the earth. Children were allowed to preach, a little girl of seven, in one instance, being propped up on the shoulders of a man, and exhorting the multitude "until she sank exhausted on her bearer's head." The "jerking" and "barking" exercises came to be manifestations of special power. The "holy laugh" became a feature of worship. Strong men were smitten to the ground as the Indians in their "ghost dances" in the Northwest. Speaking of these phenomena Prof. McMaster says in his "History of the United States, (Vol. 2, p. 581.)" "At no time was the floor less than half covered. Some lay quiet, unable to move or speak, some beat the floor with their heels, some shrieking in agony, bounded about like a live fish out of water. Many lay down and rolled over and over for hours at a time. Others rushed wildly over the stumps, and then plunged into the forest, shouting lost! lost!"

The third great movement of this general order, but different in some respects from those which had preceded, was that associated with the name of Charles G. Finney. He was a preacher of another order than any of the leaders in the other movements noted, being decidedly intellectual in his preaching, and in the main a strong and well balanced personality. The fifty years of popular indifference to religion, which followed in the wake of the "awakening," in New England was now to be succeeded by a surprising renewal of revival interest in all parts of the country, not only in the new settlements of the Southwest, but also throughout the northern and eastern sections of the country, and especially in western New York which was the center of the influence of Mr. Finney and the locality of his greatest success.

After a period of quietude the revival fires once more being kindled under the magnetic leadership of a really great preacher, burned with unrestrained fierceness in a section of the country of which it is said that Finney found it "so blistered and withered by constant revival flame that no sprout, no blade of spiritual life, could be caused to grow. Only the apples of Sodom flourished in the form of ignorance, intolerance, a boasted sinlessness and a tendency to free love and "spiritual affinities." In the section of the country where Finney labored with the greatest success there were whole stretches of territory which, in the usual reaction against extreme revivalistic methods prior to

his coming, were known as the "burnt district." The usual extravagance and fanaticism, insisted upon by many of the converts, as the characteristic marks of pure and undefiled religion, came also with this revival. Men and women fell from their seats as if smitten with the arm of a giant. Strong men had to be taken home by their friends in a state of collapse. On some occasions the confusion became so great that Finney felt obliged to expostulate with the people on the ground that those who were "seekers" should have more opportunity to think than was possible in the tumultuous explosions of emotionalism in which they found themselves. He wisely assured them that they needed the instruction of one voice and that calmness of spirit was essential to intelligent communion.

The years included in this movement also marked the period of the organization of certain of the revivalistic churches. In 1800, Martin Boehm, who was a Mennonite of Swiss ancestry, together with William Otterbein, who had been a Reformed pastor at Lancaster, Pa., led the way in the organization of the United Brethren Church. In the same year Jacob Albright, who had been reared a Lutheran, formed a society in Pennsylvania for "social prayer and devotional exercises," which was the first step in the organization of the Evangelical Association, the first conference of which was held in 1807.

Now from the historical standpoint the "New Measure Movement" in the Lutheran Church in this country is not to be dissociated from these revivalistic agitations, as constituting something of its antecedents as well as the kind of dominating religious environment in which it flourished. Under the existing conditions and in the face of the imperious attitude and persistent assertiveness of the most influential of the factors in the religious forces of the country at that time, it was not always easy for the friends of earnest piety in historical churches, with other historical antecedents and well approved, but more sedate, methods of work, churches such as the Lutheran and Reformed, to steadily adhere to the old landmarks of truth and church order. The temptation was constantly present to fall in, at least to some extent, with the more popular and turbulent method and fanaticism, as the only way of making war successfully on the dead formalism that stared them in the face from one direc-

tion and the only way of withstanding the proselyting zeal of the noisy sects around them, which were not slow to insist that whosoever had not come in their own demonstrative way had not indeed come to the kingdom at all.

What this entire series of movements which came to be known under the general head of "New Measure," was, will appear in two quotations, the one from an historian who writes of the earlier days, and another of the later days. In a citation made by Prof. Walker in his "Aspects of religious life in New England" and quoted from a book published in Glasgow about the time of the "great awakening" and entitled "State of Religion in New England Since the Rev. Whitfield's Arrival There," I find this description: "There is a creature here whom you perhaps never heard of before. It is called an exhorter. It is of both sexes, but generally of the male, and young. Its distinguishing qualities are ignorance, impudence, zeal. Such of them as have good voices do great execution; they move their hearers, make them cry, faint, swoon, fall into convulsions. The ministers have generally tried to preserve some sort of order, and been satisfied with the crying out of a number at the hearing of their sermons; (the minister that never made somebody or other cry is unconverted), but the exhorters tarry in the meeting houses with the people after the minister is gone, and sometimes several of them exhort at once in different parts of the house, and then there is terrible doings. You may hear screaming, singing, laughing, praying, all at once; and in other parts, they fall into visions, trances, convulsions. When they come out of their trances, they commonly tell a senseless story of heaven and hell, and whom and what they saw there." This was from the earlier annals of the movement. In 1843, Dr. John W. Nevin, at that time professor in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church at Mercersburg, Pa., published "A Tract for the times," entitled "The Anxious Bench." In that powerful arraignment of the "New Measure," movement Dr. Nevin says in describing what he had witnessed in a Reformed Church. "Excitement rules the hour, no room is found for either instruction or reflection. A sea of feeling, blind and tempestuous, rolls in on all sides, the anxious then are encouraged to weep aloud, cry out and wring their hands. Now they are enveloped in the

loud tones of some stimulating spiritual song. Then there is prayer, which soon becomes as loud, commencing perhaps with a single voice but flowing quickly into a sea of tumultuating sounds, from which no sense can be extracted even by the keenest ear. The mourners besiege the altar, pell-mell, kneeling, or it may be floundering flat upon the floor and all joining in the general noise. Then may be heard the voice of the preacher shouting some commonplace word of exhortation, which nobody hears or regards; while at different points, vague, crude expostulations and directions are poured into the ears of the struggling suppliants by "brethren" now suddenly transformed into spiritual counsellors, who might be at a loss themselves, at any other time to explain a single point of religion. In due time one after another is *brought through*; and thus new forms of disorder, shouting, clapping and so on, are brought into play. In this way the interest of the occasion, such as it is, may be kept up until a late hour. But who will pretend to say that instruction has been regarded or intended, as a leading part of the process."

That our Church in certain sections came to be largely identified openly and zealously with this system both in doctrinal error and extravagant practices, may be learned from many sources. At the time of the appearance of Dr. Nevin's "Anxious Bench," the *Lutheran Observer*, edited by the able Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, for the views of whom subsequent editors are in no way to be held responsible, lent all its influence to recommend and support that system of making converts, with its accompaniments, taking every occasion to speak in its favor and continually magnifying its alleged results. Many ministers and people were extensively committed in its favor so that with many it came to pass that the use of the "New Measures," and a zeal for evangelical godliness and vital piety, were looked upon as co-ordinate. It came to be regarded as the great power of God which was expected to turn and overturn until old things should finally pass away and all things should become new. In a reply to Dr. Nevin, in the *Lutheran Observer*, of Nov. 17, 1843, this appears: "Whatever Prof. Nevin may have written in the abstraction of his study, I am nevertheless strongly convinced, as a pastor, that the so-called "anxious bench" is the lever of Archimedes, which by the blessing of God can raise our German churches to that

degree of respectability in the religious world which they ought to enjoy." "Such measures are usually inseparable from great revivals, and if the great luminaries of the Church set themselves up against them they must be content to abide the consequences. By the judicious use of such measures the millenium must be accelerated and introduced."

Dr. Kurtz, in the *Observer*, then edited in Baltimore, published article after article in reply to Dr. Nevin's book, with the idea of subsequently publishing them in book form, but there seems to have been enough of Lutheran consistency and assertiveness in the Church to render publication in more permanent form unnecessary. Dr. Kurtz on one occasion in the *Observer*, went so far as to ask Dr. Nevin the question, "Whether hysterical girls had not souls to be saved," to which Dr. Nevin replied that "after due reflection it seems necessary to answer this searching inquiry in the affirmative." The late Dr. Reuben Weiser, then prominent as a pastor in our Church, and conducting revivals of an extravagant order in the mountain districts in the region about Bedford, Pennsylvania, published a somewhat breezy pamphlet on the mourner's bench in reply to Nevin. In his zeal for the "New Measures" he roundly denounced the Reformed professor as well as his book and declared him with the cock-sure-ness of one who had come to the kingdom at the right time, as one who was interfering with God's own work on earth. He even went so far as to apply to Nevin some of the terms applied to the persecutors of the Apostle Paul at Thessalonica. The Mercersburg theologian only noticed Dr. Weiser in a humorous way, calling him the "Mountain Blast." At that time Dr. Weiser was young and inexperienced, but he lived to know more of the richness of the heritage of faith and usage in his own Church, and to appreciate it with the passing of the years, so that long before his death he appeared in an article in the *Observer*, fine in spirit, reviewing the past and in a manly and candid way recalling his offensive language about the able, learned and consistent author of the "Anxious Bench," affirming his own change of views on the subject.

The issue being much the same in our Church as in the Reformed, others of our pastors in those interesting days, also

showed their candor and changed attitude, acknowledging their mistake in abandoning the time-tested methods of their own Church for the revivalistic extravagances, thanking Dr. Nevin for having written his powerful corrective, as something urgently needed in that day of domineering fanaticism, and audacious innovation. The almost irresistible character of these tidal waves of religious enthusiasm, is manifest in many of the accounts of those days. For a long period synodical minutes abound with allusions to the prevalence of the revival spirit and with reports of what it was accomplishing in the churches. Much time was consumed at synodical meetings with narratives about unusual "ingatherings" from the world and powerful transformations wrought in the Church. Of missionary and philanthropic undertakings but little was heard. At a meeting of the Synod of the West held in 1839, revival services were conducted every day and every evening.

The Rev. Dr. S. L. Harkey who was in attendance at this meeting, writes thus. "One of the most remarkable demonstrations of which I ever heard occurred at this synodical convention." * * * "In an instant every soul in the house was upon their knees, and remained there weeping and praying for mercy. The scene beggars description. I have been in many so-called revivals since that day, among various fanatical people of different denominations, and have heard many sensational preachers, but I never saw anything before nor since, like that scene in 1839, at this synodical convention." So high was the estimate placed upon such extravagant proceedings in certain sections of the Church in those days that an extended account was published in the minutes of the convention. In that account it is said: "Silence reigned through the house save the speaker's voice only, and here and there a half suppressed sigh or groan, which burst involuntarily forth from the breasts of deeply convicted sinners. The whole congregation became more or less moved. The place became truly awful and glorious and it seemed that the time had come when a decided effort must be made upon the kingdom of darkness, and that under such circumstances to shrink from the task and through fear of producing a little temporary disorder, to refuse to go heartily into the work would have been nothing short of down-right spiritual

murder. This meeting continued until it was necessary to give place for the transaction of synodical business. But the tardy movements of the people and especially of the distressed, and their lingering looks as they withdrew clearly indicated that they felt themselves still unwilling to leave the house of the Lord." At one time during the meeting it was found necessary to invite the "mourners" to withdraw from the church and remove to the parsonage that the synod might have an opportunity to proceed to its close with the transaction of the business before it.

From a letter written about this time by one of the leading "New Measure" advocates among Lutherans, we quote these words: "A short time after I had commenced praying, the windows of heaven were opened, and more than one half of the audience were on a sudden prostrated to the ground, crying out with the most dreadful shrieks, what must I do to be saved." "We locked the doors and windows to prevent interruption from without." "Never did I see such rejoicing, such exceeding great joy, as in that room. They sang praises to God for deliverance, they embraced each other and strove with Jacob's God for the blessing of God on those who were yet groaning under the weight of sin."

Such measures were, in those days, popular in all the leading churches of this country, and it is not surprising that, in that period of our weakness, with but little literature of a genuinely Lutheran order in the English language, and in view of some of the freebooting methods employed in the efforts to win Lutherans, who were looked upon as specially lawful prey, and the strenuous insistence that no one was a Christian unless he had gotten his religion in this tumultuous way, many of our people were swept along with the current until they found the catechism and all other historical belongings of the Church supplanted by the "anxious bench" and other human and mechanical revivalistic appliances. That we have emerged from that period and have come with rapid strides in recent years unto our present estate, we take to be a signal indication of the fact that the God of our fathers has been with us to preserve and lead, and that He hath for us a great and pressing opportunity to be best utilized when we seek for the old paths and inquire for the good

ways which have been so amply tested in critical as well as propitious periods of the Church's history.

Times which the "New Measures" found most favorable for the introduction of their alien methods into the Lutheran Church were times when many Lutherans did not, it must in all candor be confessed, appreciate their spiritual heritage and distinct mission in the religious world; times, to use the words of Dr. G. U. Wenner, in an admirable official and historical sermon entitled "The Return from Captivity," "when we were not understood, when we ourselves did not understand the real significance of our position. Because our symbols maintained the validity of the sacraments and their importance as the means of grace, we were looked upon as crypto-Romanists. Because we had a liturgy we were regarded as formalists. Because some of our Churches burned candles in broad day light and had crucifixes on the altar, we were not a bit better than the Catholics. The foreign languages and the peculiar customs of our brethren, from which we ourselves had been separated by two hundred years, made them and us seem like an alien people."

That the introduction of this so-called "New Measure" movement, with its excesses, questionable methods and work righteousness, into the Lutheran Church of this country created a live issue and called forth determined opposition in the interest of a pure faith and churchly order, very soon became manifest. In the year 1842, one of our historians says, "The high watermark of the revival measure was reached." In that year the list of the clerical members of the Maryland Synod contained twenty-six names, among them being those of J. D. Kurtz, Benjamin Kurtz, Samuel Sprecher, John G. Morris, Frederick W. Conrad, Ezra Keller, S. W. Harkey, George Diehl, William A. Passavant and C. P. Krauth. Quite naturally the agitation by which the Church was then disturbed and existing between the so-called "New Measure" men and the conservatives, or "Symbolists" as they were then denominated, was strongly felt at the meetings of a synod containing so many capable, prominent and representative men. But there seems to have been a strong conservative element in the synod, which made it well-nigh impossible for the more un-Lutheran contingent to carry any radical measure. The proposal, for example, made by Dr. Harkey, then

pastor at Frederick, looking to the publication of a monthly periodical to be called the "Revivalist," to be devoted to the defense of revivals, revival intelligence, the best measures and means of promoting and managing revivals of religion, was declared "inexpedient" on motion of Dr. H. L. Baugher of Pennsylvania College. At the same meeting Dr. B. Kurtz, proposed the appointment of a committee to draft a minute expressive of the views of the synod in regard to the "New Measures." Drs. Kurtz, Morris, and Harkey composed the committee and their report was discussed for two days, when on motion of Dr. F. W. Conrad it was referred back to the committee. At the meeting of the synod the next year, the committee asked to be excused from any further consideration of the subject, the request being granted.

The fact is that the "New Measure" methods never gained anything like a universal introduction into the Lutheran Church. They attained their widest influence and were accorded the most hearty welcome in quarters where what may be called the "old measures" had not been energetically used, or where they had been much abused or where the baneful effects of a sometimes unrecognized rationalism had been mistaken for what was alleged to be "Old Lutheranism." As early as 1842, Dr. Emanuel Greenwald, who had come on horse-back from Maryland as a missionary to Ohio in 1831, in the "Lutheran Standard," of which he had been made the editor, opposed this movement, standing with intelligence and the force of a fine Christian character for historical Lutheran usages and methods. Serving numerous congregations in the Tuscarawas Valley, surrounded on every hand by the wildest revivalistic fanaticism, he continued steadfast in his moderate, undemonstrative, conservative Lutheran faith which he had brought in its integrity with him from the East. In his paper he was decided in his utterances. He sustained Dr. Nevin, the Reformed author of the treatise on the "Anxious Bench," making copious extracts from that work for the benefit of his Lutheran readers, affirming repeatedly that it was a publication loudly called for. Dr. Greenwald manifested a noble Christian spirit and was among the first to call forth the Lutheran assertiveness in the reaction against the "New Measures." There were others of like mind who shared

in the reaffirmation of our Lutheran faith, the restoration of neglected factors of permanent worth and the rehabilitation of the catechism.

This system of propagandism had its well-defined marks which endured so long as it was a factor of any consequence in the religious life of the country. The term "revival" came to have a restricted interpretation, standing for religious awakenings which expressed themselves in one particular way. The word "conversion" acquired the meaning in popular speech of certain internal emotional experiences and a specific type of religious experience. The certain sign of God's grace was found not in life and conduct so much as in enthusiastic emotion. People came to look upon their own experiences as the normal standard by which to judge all others. Certain mental phenomena just because they were mysterious and awe-inspiring, came to have a supernatural interpretation. Catechetical instruction fell into disuse or was regarded with suspicion, and "head Christians" and "memory Christians" were frequent subjects of animadversion. A morbid thirst for excitement exhausted the whole of the interest that many people came to have in religion. The worst forms of error, such as antinomianism very frequently stood in close connection with bold pretensions to the highest order of professed Christian experience and attainment. The disastrous consequences of the certain reaction against false and morbid excitement in the name of religion were entirely overlooked. There was a constant danger of bringing both the truth and the real power of God into discredit by giving countenance to pretensions to the name of a revival where the genuineness of the revival was open to serious question. The gross irregularities that came to prevail, the false issues created for the soul, the absence in most cases of systematic instruction, all served to induce a vulgar and irreverent style of religion not at all helpful to seriousness, depth and earnestness in the type of piety produced. In many instances the extravagant practices of the movement resulted in widespread and lasting spiritual mischief.

And besides all this, error and heresy were insidiously involved in the system and did not fail to display themselves in disastrous results. In the perspective of the years which have

passed since the movement was at its height, the correctness of the portrayal given by Dr. Nevin, will hardly be questioned. "A low Pelagianizing theory of religion," said he, "runs through it from beginning to end. The fact of sin is acknowledged but not in its true extent. The idea of a new spiritual creation is admitted, but not in its proper radical and comprehensive form. The ground of the sinner's salvation is made at last to be in his own separate person. The deep import of the declaration, 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh,' is not apprehended; and it is vainly imagined accordingly, that the flesh as such may be so stimulated and exalted notwithstanding as to prove the matter of that spiritual nature, which we are solemnly assured can be born only of the Spirit. Hence all stress is laid upon the individual will, the self-will of the flesh, for the accomplishment of the great change in which regeneration is supposed to exist."

Indeed this movement in many of its aspects and as conducted in some places, came to serve as a striking illustration of the truth of Schliermacher's fundamentally correct remark, that "The natural man is a born Catholic;" i. e., that he wants to come into rightful relations with God by means of that which he can largely do himself. Men were somehow led to believe that religion, instead of coming from sources outside themselves, as being something of a divine bestowment, was something they were to "get," in consequence of some extraordinary exertions of their own. In the last analysis religion came to be largely the work of the sinner himself, something purely subjective, vague, emotional and unhistorical. It became narrowed to certain set phrases, a certain aggressive tone and a certain spiritual association. It was lacking in a due sense of proportion in its doctrinal emphasis, its expression and external observances.

Considering the greatness of the departure of the "measures," from the spirit, doctrinal symmetry and practice of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, it is not surprising that Dr. Philip Schaff in an address given before a Church Diet held at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1854, in which he gave a valuable estimate of the position and divisions of the Lutheran Church in America should affirm the extent of the departure that had occurred, in what he was pleased to call the "left wing" of the General Synod. Dr. Schaff's remark at the time did not escape criticism,

as was to have been expected, at the hands of the advocates of the measures in our Church, but its general accuracy cannot be called in question when read more than fifty years later.

But to pass on from these reflections regarding the general character of the "measures," our next point of inquiry shall deal more specifically with the causes leading to the introduction of this unhistorical method of doing Christian work into the Lutheran Church in this country. The question pertains to the Genesis of this movement among us. There were, as it seems to the writer, a variety of causes each of which in its turn and way contributed to the introduction of this movement, with its physical manifestations, agony and distress, visions and exaltations, and its prevalence in a considerable portion of our Church for a considerable period of time.

First of all we may say that the "New Measure" movement in the Lutheran Church, was part of a general reaction in the religious life of this country. That reaction came in the nature of a revolt against the widespread state of irreligion in this country during the period of and succeeding the war for independence. That period was one of disaster to the spiritual condition of the country. It may have been due to the mixture of ecclesiastical considerations in the motives of that great contest for freedom. But traceable to whatever fundamental cause or causes, the first ten years of the federal constitution is regarded as the time of greatest religious declension in the history of the nation.

Seven years of war had left the people of the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard impoverished, disorganized, conscious of having come into the inheritance of that freedom for which they had contended, with its outcome of a new national existence. At the same time they found themselves stirred with anxious searchings of heart, regarding the question, as to what new institutions should succeed those successfully resisted and vanquished in the struggle for independence. Much the same kind of questions confronted the commonwealth of American Christianity at the same period. All of the Churches of the country had suffered from the decimating influences at work in the conflict for freedom. The young men of the colonies had been segregated in camps away from the influences of home and kindred. Congre-

gations had been scattered, houses of worship subjected to desecrating vandalism or destroyed. Then, too, with the usual demoralization of war, as the contest advanced, there came the infection of the current fashions of unbelief prevalent among the officers, especially of both the French in our armies and the British. The prevailing situation in all branches of the Church was one of spiritual torpor and hostility to religion. After the war there came an influx of foreign population which was pronouncedly hostile to everything that was German, a population of which Dr. Helmuth well said that they had "attempted to destroy and overthrow all religion wherever they may be." Added to the already heterogeneous population of the country, these people soon made their baleful influence felt, as they joined forces with the infidelity, rationalism, universalism, and all other forms of heretical and fantastic isms that were then diligently and with a deplorable success, propagated. In servile imitation of the French, at that time, multitudes in the most American sections of the new republic, were wearing cockades, shouting for fraternity and equality, being infatuated with French infidelity and carried away from all religious sobriety by the ribaldry of Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man" and "The Age of Reason."

The newspapers of the day were filled with the announcements of French dancing schools, fencing academies, and pastry shops, French brandy, cosmetics, silk stockings and other similar follies and foibles, while they were at the same time marked by a destitution of anything religious. To their great credit it is to be said, that the only people who had the sturdy and self-respecting patriotism and character to withstand this mania for French patterns in dress, morals and religion were the Germans, Lutheran and Reformed, under the leadership of the able Rev. Christian Henry Helmuth.

Franklin's long residence in France, Jefferson's pronounced liberalistic tendencies in religion, the popularity of the writings of Paine, together with the gratefully recognized aid of Lafayette and other Frenchmen in the struggle for our independence, all served to render more popular the cheap foreign infidelity of that day. The religious situation in the College of William and Mary, founded in 1692, and in Yale, founded in 1700, the incipient socinianism at Harvard, founded in 1642, together with

certain unfavorable indications at Princeton, founded in 1746, deepened the impression that, unless there arose some great spiritual movement of a reactionary kind, the whole country was liable to be engulfed in a baneful wave of cheap and popular scepticism. Speaking of the religious situation at this period the author of "American Christianity" says, "The two decades from the close of the war of independence include the period of the lowest ebb-tide of vitality in the history of American Christianity. The spirit of half-belief or unbelief that prevailed on the other side of the sea, both in the Church and out of it was manifest also here.."

Thus the period of twenty-five years preceding the organization of the General Synod was indeed and in truth the heyday of a boastful and superficial infidelity; a time when the horizon was blazing with the camp-fires of the Church's enemies, and the air ringing with the predictions of the speedy disappearance of the Church as a factor in the life of the people. That era has been styled "The Pentecost of Unbelief," which proved indeed to be a veritable festival of the abomination of desolation. In due time, as always comes to pass, reactionary forces in the sphere of religion began to assert themselves, and considering the state of society at that time, in connection with that impulsive social action that is said by the psychologists and sociologists, to extend and intensify in geometrical proportion, it is not surprising that the reaction should come in a "revival" of a particularly turbulent type and attended with many extravagant manifestations. The man who, probably more than any other, was influential in leading that reaction in its better features, and bringing the people back to saner thinking, was Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College from 1795 to his death in 1817. From his students he invited the frankest expression of their doubts and difficulties, and after having heard all they had to say, he devoted a series of sermons in the college chapel on successive Sundays to a complete refutation of the infidel propaganda and the constructive work of making what is really a system of theology.

This revival, beginning fifty-five years after the coming of Muhlenberg, and about twenty-three years before the organization of the General Synod, prevailed, as we have seen, in widely

separated regions extending from Connecticut throughout New England clean down into Tennessee and Kentucky, while all the intervening spaces shared in its effects and influences.

September 2, 1784, at Leeds, England, John Wesley assisted by other presbyters of the Church of England, laid ordaining hands upon the head of Thomas Coke and committed to him the superintendency of the Methodist Church in America, as the colleague of Francis Asbury. On the arrival of Coke the preachers were hastily summoned to a conference at Baltimore, and there, in Christmas week of the same year, Asbury was ordained successively as deacon, elder and bishop. By the two bishops thus constituted, other elders and deacons were ordained, and Methodism was started on its way as a religious force in this country. Its dominant notes were "Ye must be born again" and "Escape from the wrath to come." With it the question of personal salvation and redemption secured after a particular and exclusive fashion, was the one and all. It was aggressive, and assertive in a high degree. From the very beginning its characteristic methods of work and its theory of conversion made a deep impression upon the religious life of the people. It spread with great rapidity at a time when Lutheranism was yet weak as a factor in the Christian forces of the land, there being at the beginning of the national period but twenty-five ministers and sixty Churches of our order in this country. In New England this revival movement was dominated by the stiffest type of Puritan theology, that of "unconditional submission" to the Divine will, even to the extent of readiness to be willing to be damned if the highest interests of the universe should so demand. An illustration of the despair in one of the features of that hard and repellant theology may be seen in an extract from a letter written by an inquirer to the pastor of a New England Church. "I wish you would pray for me that I may be converted, if God can convert me consistently with His pleasure and glory, and if not, I do not desire it." People were taught that they should be willing to be damned for the glory of God and to rejoice in that distressing fact. This was typical of the gloomy, legalistic and forbidding theology of the time; a theology which its latest historian has declared at the end of a long dissertation on the subject, to have "perished from the earth."

Now this, in the characteristic methods of Methodism and the legalistic ironclad and fatalistic Calvinism of Puritanism, were alien to the theology, life and methods of work of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the days of Spener, Francke and Muhlenberg, the days of one of the most real and vital revivals in the history of Christianity; a revival which, within the Lutheran Church inspired great missionary and philanthropic undertakings, and that without modification of any of its doctrines or the abrogation of its historical methods of work. But the other two types we have named largely dominated, in those days, the religious thinking and activities of the churches of this country.

Considering now the facts that no beliefs are so momentous as those of religion, and that no forms of imagination and emotion are so intense as the religious, it cannot be regarded as surprising that large sections of the Lutheran Church, in the days of its weakness in this land and in the days of ignorance regarding its own rich heritage of faith and practice, in consequence of the absence of a rich literature in the language of the country, should have been swept into the current of the general reactionary movement noted above. It is not surprising that under the name of "New Measure," she should have tried to engraft upon her life certain hitherto unrecognized beliefs and methods; that it should have forgotten for a time its distinctive notes and laid aside its expression of the Christian life and its methods of doctrinal inculcation, adopting others never in harmony with its genius. Lutheranism had always been characterized by calm and poise. It had given rational attention to the great spiritual realities. It had shown its fine adaptability in nourishing the piety, the faith and the devotion of such spiritual giants as Luther, Melancthon, Spener, Francke, Schwartz, Harms and Fleidner. But in the days of the "New Measures" among a people of deep sensibilities, and exceptionably responsive to stirring religious appeals, it suffered for a time modification until even among some of its own, its identity was destroyed.

2. A second predisposing reason for the introduction of the "New Measures" in the Lutheran Church, was confessional in its character. The period of the nineteenth century during which the measures were prevalent among us, was indeed a time

when currents and counter currents of various and contradictory orders were contending for the mastery in the religious skies. Tractarianism in England proposed to start the Church anew upon the foundation of the post-apostolic fathers. Puritanism imagined that Plymouth Rock was somehow the Rock of Ages, at the very time that it was being undermined by Unitarianism. Universalism and a swarm of heretical sects sprang up numerous almost as the frogs in Egypt. Unbelief in many places seemed to be supplanting the faith once for all delivered unto the saints. Rationalism was making of Jesus but a virtuous hero and a Son of God differing from us in degree only and not in kind. Strauss, Baur and Renan were trying to eliminate the supernatural from the constitution of Christianity. A revived Arianism was taking the crown of deity from the head once crowned with thorns, and fanatical revivalism in recurring tides of emotionalism and reaction, was sweeping across this country. Such in general was the religious situation for the first fifty years of the century in which the "Measures" were introduced and used. A movement that was so general, as we have seen the revivalistic movement to have been for a long period in the history of the churches of this country, can only be understood when it is studied and estimated in all of its relations. A Church that becomes indifferent to its heritage of doctrine and practice, as the history of the Church so abundantly illustrates, opens the door for the incoming of heretical tendencies and the introduction of alien factors into its development. It is but stating a plain and indisputable fact of the history of our Church in this country to say, that during the period of the use of the "Measures," it had largely lost the historical sense. For years the Church had, for the most part, been almost completely divorced from her doctrinal standards. Much of it had stood in no more tangible relation to them than to the Koran of Mahomet, even the Augsburg Confession being seldom named. Congregations were organized, synods were formed and ministers were licensed and ordained without any kind of reference to this generic creed of Lutheranism. Many of her ministers made special efforts to show that the Lutheran communion deserved existence as a denomination, not because she held the truth of the gospel in any peculiar sense and emphasized certain doc-

trines not emphasized by others, but in consequence of what she confessed as the common heritage of all Protestant Christians. Among us there was no sort of uniformity of doctrine, worship or practice. The "Book of Concord," when made available by the Henkel edition in the English language, was not only left unstudied, but not a few of the ministry and the laity lifted up admonitory voices against its use, as being but a piece of profitless "symbolism." Efforts to lead the Church back to re-instatement upon her historical basis met with suspicion or determined opposition. With these tendencies in mind the late Dr. J. A. Brown, writing in 1871 of "Radicalism or Extreme Liberalism," says: "This term is used to describe the position of those, who would have the Lutheran Church in the United States, to cut loose from all historical and doctrinal connection with the Lutheran Church of the past, to renounce all distinctive peculiarities of faith or worship, and to act as though the foundations were to be laid anew. And in laying anew the foundations and proceeding to build, we are not to be influenced or swayed by what the fathers have done. We are to act, substantially, as if there had been no Lutheran Church during the past three hundred years."

But there was a historical cause for all this. The chief center of influence in Germany that had to do with the planting of our Church in this country was Halle. Spener, born in 1635, the great leader of the pietistic movement in its earlier and better days, had no thought of departing in any way from the clearest and most explicit definitions of the Lutheran confessions, in his efforts at reviving the drooping life of the Church. His aim was not to modify those doctrines or confessions, but the rather to insist upon them as a means to an end, upon their application in the practical life of the individual Christian and the Church. On June 11th, 1705, the day of his death, "he called about him," says Mrs. Richard, in her biography of this great Lutheran saint and leader, "all his colleagues of the St. Nicholas Church of Berlin. To them he spoke of the agreement of his faith with the doctrines of the Evangelical Church and the symbolical books." "The degenerate, sentimental and subjective pietism which came after the time of Spener, cutting loose from objective standards in religion because easily the forerunner of rationalism. Gradu-

ally the university at Halle which had been a nursery of pietism was transformed into a nursery of rationalism. In 1753, Semler was made professor at Halle. His chief attention as scholar and teacher was directed to the canon of the scriptures upon which he exercised a cold-blooded and destructive criticism. He was a man of great acuteness, unwearied industry and of wide but unregulated learning, unable to see whither his conclusions were leading. Under the influence of Semler, Niemeyer and others, it is enough to say, that by the end of the eighteenth century and less than twenty-five years before the organization of the General Synod, no trace of pietism or orthodoxy survived at Halle, and rationalism had become the dominating note in its theology.

This, of course, had its influence on the Church in this country. Ministers came who had been trained under another generation of teachers at Halle, men who had been pupils of Semler in the first stages of his career. They knew not the robust and consistent Lutheranism of the "patriarch" Muhlenberg, who came in 1742. After the death of John C. Kunze, Dr. Frederick Henry Quitman, a pupil of Semler, became president of the New York Ministerium, retaining that position for twenty-one years. He was a man of commanding presence for stature, it is said, standing like Saul among his brethren and intellectually far superior to his contemporaries in the ministry. By order of the synod he prepared in 1812, a catechism full of rank rationalism, and in 1816, compiled a hymn-book in the same spirit and containing a liturgy in which the prayers are simply addressed to "the Great Father of the Universe." All were based upon the speech of the older rationalism in which "the higher reason of Christianity" was substituted for the Holy Spirit; "the laxity of modern life" for the sinful heart; "the beginning of nobler impulses," for regeneration; "the elevation of humanity" for Christ's ascension, and "corporate immortality" for personal immortality. In the synodical constitutions a change was effected also in the elimination of all confessional tests. The only such allusion, and that of a very remote character, is when the catechists are required to preach the word of God in its purity "according to law and the gospel." All reference to either the Augsburg confession or to the other symbolical books, so promi-

ment in the earlier constitution, had vanished. Truth requires us to say that these efforts to Americanize German rationalism were successful for the most part in English congregations. The German congregations clinging to Luther's catechism remained least effected. Because of this attitude of confessional looseness when the General Synod was organized in 1820, it was not found practicable to place in the constitution even the name of any of the Lutheran confessional writings, not even of the Augsburg confession. Thus this disturbing and pernicious element of rationalism found its way into our churches in this country and exerted a very hurtful influence upon the people regarding the teachings of the scriptures, as presented in the confessions of the Church. The tendency was to yield or compromise everything that was positive or definite, until as Dr. C. P. Krauth said, in speaking of the condition of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, "We had a weak, indecisive pulpit, feeble catechisms, vague hymns and constitutions which reduced the minister to the position of a hireling talker, and made synods disorganizations for the purpose of preventing anything from being done." Speaking of the two synods of New York and Pennsylvania at this period, Dr. S. S. Schmucker said that "the great bulk of the ministers in the two synods were Socinians," a species of heresy that as Dr. Schmucker further says, "denies all the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion." In consequence of this confessional looseness it is not at all surprising that a counter movement as drastic as that of the "New Measure" movement should have come to the front. And considering further, what ensued in the General Synod, it is no matter of surprise that it continued for so long a time until finally it was one factor in the division of that body in 1866. Departing from his position of 1820, when he advocated bringing the Augsburg confession "up out of the dust" and requiring every one to subscribe to the twenty-one doctrinal articles, "and declare before God by his subscription, that it corresponds with the Bible, not quatenus, but quia," Dr. Schmucker, likely at the time the most influential man in the Church in this country, became the leader in confessional modifications, which served to perpetuate the "New Measures," and with the consequences of which we are not

yet entirely done. In the "Lutheran Manual," published in 1855, Dr. Schmucker, on page 8, represents the Augsburg Confession as teaching only a modified form of the popish errors of the Roman mass. On page 9, "only a qualified adoption" of the confession is represented as the perfection of ecclesiastical prudence and orthodoxy for Lutherans, and on page 10, we are told that the confession contains "erroneous doctrines" which the author indicated by placing them in brackets "so that," as he said, "our churches may no longer be charged with holding doctrines which they do not receive." Such a mode of reforming and reconstructing the doctrines of a Church meets with no parallel in the history of any other denomination in this country. The energies of the author of the manual were directed at that time to the effort of setting up a Lutheran Church in America, distinct from the Lutheran Church of history.

In 1837, the Hartwick Synod not being sufficiently advanced for a few of its members, they withdrew and formed the Franckean Synod, a body which, at that time, pressed "New Measures" to the extreme, laid little stress on an educated ministry, and, in its "declaration of faith," abandoning the Augsburg confession, taught, according to the decision of the vice chancellor of the State of New York, an entirely different doctrine on three essential particulars.

Many instances of the prevailing confessional chaos of that general period might be adduced. For example in "The discipline, articles of faith and synodical constitution of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Carolina," adopted in 1841, in the liturgical act, for the ordination of ministers much is said about "an exemplary walk and conversation; to live in harmony with your brethren, in peace with your fellow Christians in general and in good will toward all mankind," but there is not so much as a foot note allusion to even the Augsburg confession. The acme of this confessional obscurantism seemed to have been reached by a conference in Kansas, as late as 1866, when this resolution was prepared, "Resolved, that we organize ourselves into a synod on the basis of the definite synodical platform, provided Rev. Earhart will unite with us, and that if he does not, we do not." To the credit of Lutheran consistency it should be said that Rev. Earhart would not and the rest of the brethren

were accordingly saved from the folly of setting up on the mighty prairies of the West a Lutheranism the type of which was not on land or sea. These instances from many that might be adduced must suffice.

In the midst of such abounding uncertainty in our confessional attitude, extending all the way from 1820 to 1864, it is not surprising that a large part of the Church should have taken up with extravagant measures imported from other Churches which in their own progress have largely abandoned and repudiated them. It is not surprising that the life in large sections of our Church should have become what the late Dr. Samuel Sprecher called a "Lutheranism modified by the Puritan element."

Speaking of those days when we were suffering from the violent reaction against the imported Halleian rationalism, Dr. C. P. Krauth says, "There was a time when our Church was in danger of dying of pure dignity, when her limbs had grown rigid in a protracted, almost mortal attack of self-complacency." The reaction and re-awakening was bound to come, but it came attended with some grave misapprehensions and false accusations and a disrupted Church. In those days of "New Measure" reaction which no doubt would never have come had our Church remained true to her heritage of faith and practice as illustrated in Muhlenberg, the real Lutheran party was known as "Symbolists," "Old Lutherans," &c. The truth is that the deadness in the Church which the "New Measure" men were endeavoring, and we doubt not with all sincerity, to counteract, was produced by no sort of Lutheranism either new or old, but was the product of an imported rationalism which has always and everywhere worked the same results. It is to be regretted unto this day that some of our fathers in the faith did not discern that in order to cast out the diabolus of rationalism, it was not necessary to emasculate the doctrines of the Church which were maintained in their integrity in the times of Spener and Francke in breaking up the delicious dogmatic slumber into which the Church in the fatherland had then fallen. A consistent and symmetrical Lutheranism was then found effective and practicable. It would no doubt have been so in the old days when the "New Measure" movement came in with methods and doctrines

that were alien and sporadic. Of the fact that the men who used the measures were sincere, that they were useful, and that the Church needed reviving there can be no doubt. Nevertheless their coming in as a floodtide, in connection with the reasons assigned, have entailed problems and consequences with which we have yet to reckon. This at least the subsequent development and work of our Church in this country warrants us in saying, that, notwithstanding all that may be alleged in behalf of the movement under discussion the men who withstood that movement and repudiated its methods saved the Lutheran Church in its integrity to contribute its particular part to the religious life and work of our time and place.

3. It has been somewhat evident from the line of discussion we have pursued that there was also a literary reason for the introduction of this movement among Lutherans. During the earlier period, particularly, of the prevalence of the measures, we were lamentably deficient in a sound, consistent and denominationally self-respecting Lutheran literature in the English language. The absence of that important factor from which the people of a Church may learn of their own peculiar Church heritage, renders that people an easy prey to the desolating influences of heretical tendencies, religious fads and proselytism.

When the movement under consideration was at its height, the only book accessible in the English language from which a true knowledge of the teachings of the Lutheran Church could be derived, was the old translation of the Book of Concord, made by the Henkels in the Valley of Virginia and first published in 1851. But that book was eschewed and repudiated by men who sympathized with the "New Measures," as a bit of rank formalistic symbolism that was not helpful to the cultivation of "vital piety" and aggressive godliness. It was unread by the most of them, and abused and misrepresented by others. In the discriminating sermon preached by the president before the General Synod at Des Moines, Iowa, in 1901, the exact truth on this phase of our denominational life in this country, was stated by my honored teacher and colleague, the late Dr. Samuel F. Breckenridge. "It seems to be the fact," said he, "that in consequence of the unfortunate but unavoidable agitation accompanying the transition from a German to an English speaking Church, to-

gether with the lack of Lutheran literature in the English language, the preachers of our earlier day, engaged in a hand to hand fight with rationalism and the enemies of righteousness, and busy with the practical matters of their office, knew very little, and in some cases nothing at all, about the rock whence they were hewn." This witness of Dr. Breckenridge is unquestionably true. Our ministers—and we would give due honor to those venerable men, so abundant in labors and sacrifices—were it is also to be said in their behalf, so overwhelmed in their work, that they had but little time for special studies. Much of the contemporary literature that came from Germany was infected with the rationalistic poison prevalent there. With the anglicizing of the people the congregations were left without a sound and attractive Lutheran literature. Earnest and devout men and women in our congregations were naturally led to procure and read the devotional and practical works of other churches, to the neglect of the rich literature in which their own Church abounded. Arndt, Gerhard and others were replaced by Baxter, Bunyan, Wesley, Edwards, Howe and Dwight. Many candidates for the ministry were instructed in other churches, and while acquiring much that was truly precious, getting also much that obscured the strength and integrity of the Lutheran faith. Their spiritual and intellectual life was fed from outside sources prejudiced in many instances against our Church and its doctrines. The one wonder is that the results were not more disastrous and that there was anything of Lutheranism left among us to increase and wax strong until in these days when in consequence of a happy combination of forces, and in the face of our own peculiar difficulties, misunderstandings and divisions, we have come under the gracious direction of the Head of the Church, to stand in our own place, to witness to the truth, to bear our testimony and contribute something sorely needed by our times to the religious life of this great people, and to do something, but alas, too little in the great work of world evangelization.

Endeavoring thus to account in some measure for the genesis of this movement in the Lutheran Church several reflections have been constantly suggesting themselves, and with these we conclude this paper.

1. That the Church, sharing in the depressing influences we have named, needed reviving, there can be no doubt. Of the sincerity and devotion of the men who introduced the measures to work the correction of manifest evils, we have no doubt, while we feel assured that they were mistaken regarding the causes of the deadness. It was not caused by what was alleged to be "Old Lutheranism," but by an imported rationalism which has wrought the same deplorable results wherever its blighting influences have prevailed. The abandonment of her ancient usages by our Church in this country originated in her deadness and not in her formalism. The surrender of Lutheran doctrine and practice was made to an enemy that gloried in the human reason and a discredited revelation rather than in consequence of super-exalted "Symbolism."

2. Considering what ensued in the history of our Church in this country, it cannot cease to be a source of regret that the men who were led to introduce the unhistorical "New Measures" to quicken the life of the Church, did not adhere to historical methods of the seventeenth century Pietists.

In his history of the Church Mosheim tells us that the deplorable state of religion that prevailed in Germany was the result of the Thirty Years' War, and that while a small minority of the most fanatical of the pietists, did indeed attempt to effect a revolution, or a revival of evangelical religion among the Lutherans "by making considerable alterations in their doctrine, and changing their whole form of ecclesiastical discipline and polity," the vast majority of the most learned and pious, at the head of which was Spener, proposed to accomplish the work, "without introducing any change into the doctrine, discipline or form of government that were established in the Lutheran Church."

In these quotations from Mosheim we have the statement of two important facts: That these leaders of pietism did not attribute the prevalence of formalism to the influence of symbolism; and again, that they did not consider even the most rigid confessionalism as presenting any obstacle to the work of reviving the drooping life of the Church, the work upon which they had entered. The revival they brought about under the blessing of God was made successful, not by an abandonment of the

Church's doctrine and practice, but by adhering to them, and preaching the apprehension of the gospel set forth in the church confessions in all its simplicity and power.

3. It should be said also that no particular branch of the Church, at this day, can, upon the basis of all the facts, put all the responsibility for the "New Measures" upon any one body exclusively. There were men in the Synod, for example, who were active at one time in the advocacy and use of the measures, who, long before death removed them, were convinced of the un wisdom of the movement and abandoning such unhistorical methods, passed over to a soundly Lutheran position of faith and practice. There were men who became prominent in the Council who at one time were most ardent advocates of the measures. There were also men in the Synod and also men who went with the Council, who at no time, gave any countenance to these alien methods of work, and expressions of the Christian life. The most conspicuous example of one who had been a warm advocate of the measures, and who subsequently saw the error of this method, was likely the late Dr. Wm. A. Passavant, great as leader, preacher and philanthropist. When he devoted himself to preaching, as he did not so much in his later days, being devoted to his numerous eleemosynary institutions, he is said to have been a preacher of unusual power, possessing all the gifts and adjuncts for a successful "revivalist." He conducted "revival meetings with anxious bench and mourners," as for example at Baltimore. In the history of the First English Lutheran Church of Pittsburg, it is said, "During his pastorate in Baltimore, Mr. Passavant was a 'New Measure' man, and this spirit characterized the early part of his ministry in Pittsburg." His interesting biographer, Prof. Gerberding, does not, with his usual candor, conceal this chapter in Dr. Passavant's great career of usefulness, neither does he fail to note his conversion to the saner, safer and more historical life and methods of his own Church, in which he worked so long and effectively as the greatest in his chosen sphere of philanthropy.

4. No one can go over carefully all the facts in the history of our Church in this country from 1820 to the time of the Definite Synodical Platform, without experiencing a feeling of regret that Dr. S. S. Schmucker, with his fine abilities, force of char-

acter and capacity for leadership, was ever carried off from the more consistent Lutheran basis of the earlier years of his career. During the earlier part of his career, as we have already seen, he was much more of a Lutheran than most of his contemporaries, as witness for example, his letter to his father, written in February, 1820, page 63 of "Anstadt's Life of Dr. Schmucker." But later when the reaction in behalf of a more decided, a more sound, a more useful and historical Lutheranism set in, he, to this day it must be regretted, threw his influence with the un-Lutheran tendencies and modifications, and with all diligence in the use of voice and pen, opposed the reviving Lutheranism and advocated modifications of creed and at least did not oppose the introduction of radical measures.

We yet, as a people, have our problems peculiar and urgent, but, in consequence of an increased knowledge of our heritage and a return to things established and historical, we have long since emerged from the excesses of the "New Measure" movement.

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ARTICLE V.

THE FUNCTION AND IMPORT OF DOGMATICS ACCORDING TO PROFESSOR IHMELS.

BY PROFESSOR ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, A.M., B.D.

I. THE FUNCTION OF DOGMATICS.*

In the most general sense of the term dogmatics may be defined as the scientific presentation of the dogmas obtaining in a Church. Of course it would be impossible to stop there, and for two reasons. In the first place such a definition does not express the element of unity which dogmatics must embody. True, this very effort at unity has been deprecated even by those of dogmatic interests. Not a few dogmaticians have declared the system to be nothing less than dangerous to dogmatics. With this view we will have to deal in the second part of our article. Suffice it to say in this connection, however, that even those theologians who hold this view and similar views, cannot avoid considering at least the best order of succession for the separate dogmas which they would fain have placed side by side. This fact alone serves to show that in spite of himself the dogmatician must in some sense at least aim at a closed unity.

And in the second place, such a general definition of dogmatics would not adequately express its normative character. The scien-

*[Translator's Note.—This is the first of a series of articles now being published in the columns of the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, the conservative Leipzig paper established by Luthardt. The editors of this paper have asked a number of conservative dogmaticians to present for publication the fundamentals of their respective dogmatic systems. The aim is to do this in as limited space and as popular style as possible. The purpose of the series is to furnish the readers of the paper, both clerical and lay, a solid basis for their conservative position and to prove that midst the present confusion of theological parties and the vigorous propaganda of the liberal theologians, there still remains a very encouraging number of able theologians representing the Church's theology. This article from the pen of Professor Ihmels gains special interest from the fact that he was Frank's successor at Erlangen and is commonly considered to-day the nearest approach among celebrated theologians to the Erlangen theology. The views here presented may be regarded as very wide-spread among the clergy of Germany, for every year Professor Ihmels gathers about him a large number of theological students who still adhere to the old faith.]

tific presentation of dogmas could be purely an historical exposition. Such, for example, as Symbolics. But the very idea of dogma necessarily includes also a judgment as to its truth or falsity. For by the term dogma we are to understand not any arbitrary doctrinal statement, but only such doctrinal statements as claim acceptance and authority in some Church. The dogma itself, therefore, requires of necessity, that its claim to validity be either admitted or else denied. And he who as dogmatician presents the dogma of a particular Church presupposes that this dogma as he understands it and presents it, shall be valid as truth. It is utterly wrong, therefore, to make dogmatics only an historical discipline, Schliermacher's authority to the contrary notwithstanding. It must have normative character. In other words, dogmatics must undertake to present dogma as truth. Or still more concisely: dogmatics is the scientific statement of Christian truth. In this definition both elements are properly recognized: the need of unity, and the normative character of dogmatics.

2. But this general definition of the task of dogmatics includes a further implication. It implies two things which after all are only one. Dogmatics we said must present Christian truth. But how determine this Christian truth? It is evident at once that the purely formal concept can be filled with meaning only by determining the essence of Christianity. Now the essential characteristic of Christianity is that it claims to be living fellowship with God grounded on God's revelation in history. This means that dogmatics can give a proper presentation of Christianity only by taking into account at every point that Christianity is conditioned upon revelation. And that simply means further that revelation is a factor which must be absolutely dominant in dogmatics. That this is true follows also from what has been said above. Dogmatics we said must have normative character. But whence comes this authority? To us as Protestants it is inconceivable that it should grow out of the dogma itself. Nor can we believe that all the authority of the Church could invest dogmas with their normative character. From the point of view of Protestantism dogmas have the right of existence only in so far as they claim to be the expression of divine revelation. So too dogmatics can claim authority only in proportion as it can show beyond doubt that it speaks in the

name of revelation. That is to say, in dogmatics revelation must bear absolute sway.

The second implication grows out of the first. Revelation and faith are correlative and inseparable concepts. Revelation means the self-manifestation of God for the purpose of entering into fellowship with man. When revelation is presented to man the only aim is to call forth faith within him. And conversely, only where this element of faith exists does revelation become real for man. But the faith which is thus called forth by the self-manifestation of God in revelation consists in its inmost essence of nothing else than implicit confidence in the God of revelation Himself. Thus faith consists primarily in assent to the divine revelation. But this means at the same time nothing more nor less than the believer's assent to revelation as a fact applying to him and comprehensible by him. Faith, therefore, viewed as confidence, includes of necessity two further elements, knowledge of divine revelation and certainty of divine revelation. Or in other words, all knowledge which the Christian receives from revelation he must receive through faith and from faith.

Now dogmatics has the task of setting forth this knowledge which comes of faith. And this task must be fulfilled in such a way that that knowledge can worthily claim to be a dogma obtaining in the congregation of believers. This follows from the above definition of dogma. For the very concept of dogma implies some relation to the congregation. It belongs to the essence of dogma that it is a doctrinal statement claiming acceptance and authority somewhere. And the sphere of this authority is always tacitly assumed to be the congregation of believers. From this consideration there follows another demand upon dogmatics, namely, that it present that knowledge which has come to faith, and still comes, within the congregation. Summing up, therefore, we say, it is the function of dogmatics to present a scientific statement of that specific knowledge of Christian truth which is attained by the congregation through faith in revelation.

3. This definition of the problem of dogmatics virtually determines also its content and method. If dogmatics is to set forth that specific knowledge which makes the unique claim to be Christian truth, it follows at once that the content of dogmatics must be the fellowship with God mediated through Christ,

for just that is the essence of Christianity. Nothing belongs to dogmatics which does not in some way contribute to the presentation of that divine fellowship in terms of knowledge. This clearly defines the principle of dogmatics and distinguishes it from all other disciplines. Some of these may have their points of contact with dogmatics. But the dogmatic presentation has its distinctive and unmistakable peculiarity in the fact that its entire content is related to our fellowship with God. Philosophy may busy itself with thoughts concerning God, but dogmatics has to do only with that God who has established fellowship with us in revelation through Jesus Christ. So too the natural sciences may with the various means at their disposal make all kinds of investigations concerning the origin and substance of the world, but dogmatics is interested in the results of such investigations only in so far as the great world-purpose is to be found in God's fellowship with man. Such is the peculiar problem of our discipline and we must exercise care not to cross our proper bounds, especially in the present day must the dogmatician resist every temptation to solve in addition certain problems of natural science or of metaphysics.

On the other hand dogmatics is in duty bound to draw into its sphere of investigation everything which will in any way help to develop this idea of divine fellowship. Especially must the dogmatician guard against limiting his presentation unduly for fear of coming into conflict with other scientific disciplines. How to regard such a conflict and how to relieve it is indeed a problem which theology can by no means avoid. Strictly speaking, this question belongs, however, not to dogmatics, but to the discipline concerning Christian certainty. At any rate dogmatics in determining its sphere and the proper authority of its statements dare not be influenced by fear of conflict with another science. And it would certainly be most dangerous if the dogmatician in order to forestal every objection should renounce all claim to the objective validity of his statements. It is true and must be freely admitted that the propositions of dogmatics are obtained only within the believing congregation and therefore are valid only for believers. Nevertheless, we dare not lose sight of the fact that those very propositions lay most emphatic claim to objective validity.

This contention that the peculiar content of dogmatics consists

in its description of our fellowship with God will become somewhat plainer perhaps if we view it from a slightly different aspect. If it is to be the purpose of dogmatics to express the knowledge which comes of faith, then our fellowship with God must be described as an object of faith. In other words the description of our fellowship with God must be a description of our Christian faith itself. This becomes clear if we but ask ourselves how we should describe the essence of divine fellowship pure and simple. The ultimate essence of any relation involving fellowship can be understood only by describing the persons who have fellowship with each other and at the same time the manner in which the fellowship arose and is exercised. We notice, however, among the various ties of fellowship a characteristic difference in that some by their very nature involve a purely mutual relationship, while in others the one party is more or less the sole author and supporter of the relationship. Where the latter is the case, we understand such a relationship and its peculiarity just in proportion as we know its real bearer and the manner in which he sustains the tie of fellowship. This is especially true of the relation of parents to children, so long, that is, as they are children. But it is true in an absolute sense of the relation sustained in God's fellowship with man. Here God is from beginning to end the bearer of the relationship. It was first established in the very beginning when God created man. To know God therefore is to understand his relation of fellowship with man. That is to say God is the proper object of faith and as such also the proper object of dogmatics. Dogmatics is theology in the strictest sense.

There is, therefore, only one adequate classification of dogmatics. This grows out of the necessity so to describe God as the congregation of believers experience Him in the establishing of their divine fellowship. The faith of the congregation is of course after all uniform and so too the function of dogmatics is one. Nevertheless this one undivided faith must of necessity be viewed in two aspects: on the one hand, as faith in the God who through revelation in history establishes His fellowship with man; on the other hand, as faith in those dealings of God through which He reveals to man His nature and character. This, then, is the double task which dogmatics must accomplish. First, it must portray the faith which has for its object the God

who through fellowship with men has led them to know Him and secondly, it must set forth the faith which has as its object those dealings of God through which He establishes, sustains and consummates his fellowship with men.

Thus far I join in the demand for a theocentric formulation of dogmatics. As theology of revelation it must be theology of faith, and as such must in the final analysis have God alone as its subject.

But this demand that dogmatics have a theocentric character is identical with the other demand that it be Christocentric. For our entire fellowship with God which forms the subject of our science is mediated through Christ, just as our faith is nothing more nor less than faith in God through Christ. From this follows the important fact that every individual statement in dogmatics must finally be orientated with reference to the Person of Christ. And while Schliermacher was indeed quite wrong when he refused to concede to the Old Testament any significance whatever for dogmatics, yet it is true that all divine revelation at the Old Testament stage gains significance for dogmatics only as it is viewed in the light of New Testament fulfillment. The specifically Christian character of dogmatics depends entirely upon the fact that its every statement can be shown to grow "out of" faith in Jesus Christ.

These last few sentences have already touched upon the question of method. The determining principle for the method of dogmatic follows directly from what has been said. It has been shown that revelation must dominate our discipline. And just this is the element of truth contained in the old conception of dogmatics. The old dogmaticians simply set up the Scriptures as the *principium cognoscendi*. And there is some justification of this method of procedure, for as a matter of fact the divine revelation while primarily and essentially consisting of deeds, nevertheless reaches us only in the Word of revelation. And this Word of revelation we have in its authentic form in the Scriptures.

But it is utterly erroneous to expect by a mere summary reference to Scripture to have settled finally the question of method in dogmatics. Dogmatics does not claim to be Biblical Theology. In other words, it will not suffice for the dogmatician merely to gather together the doctrinal statements of the Bible.

For the mere question as to the point of departure in the presentation of these Scriptural statements or the question as to the connection between the various statements themselves would at once show what embarrassment this method of procedure leads to. And even if the Scriptures pretended to give a single homogeneous doctrinal unity and thus make it possible for dogmatics simply to pattern after this prescribed canonical unity, even then the dogmatician could not stop there since it is the principle of dogmatics to present the knowledge attained by faith. That simply means that the task of dogmatics is fulfilled only when it has plainly shown why and how faith grounded on revelation must necessarily make the statements it does make. But faith attains to knowledge entirely within the congregation. And it is the express purpose of dogmatics to set forth the knowledge of Christian truth accruing to the congregation. It becomes the fundamental duty therefore, of dogmatics after considering the origin of the witness of revelation to show further how the congregation of believers has always and everywhere sought to attain to a correct understanding of that witness. Then only can we presume to determine the elements of knowledge which as the result of revelation must of necessity accrue to the faith of the congregation.

Accordingly there are three fundamental requisites which the dogmatic presentation must meet and fulfil. The foundation for everything else must consist in securing from Scripture the unfailing witness to the historical facts of revelation. And just as revelation itself entered into history, so too the origin of the Scriptural witness to this revelation can and must have been strictly historical in its manner. Further, dogmatics must set forth how the Church of Jesus has sought in faith to master this witness of revelation. This of course does not by any means mean the heaping up of historical detail. The only matter of importance is rather to point out correctly the cardinal directions in which have moved the various efforts made within the congregation looking towards the comprehension and interpretation of revelation. But both of these lines of application are after all only preparatory to the real work of dogmatics proper, which consists in showing how faith is compelled by revelation to make the statements it actually does make. It is plain at once that all controversy as to the validity of the various dogmatic

statements and their value to personal piety must cease just in proportion as the dogmatician succeeds in determining at every point the exact connection between the believer's faith and the individual doctrinal statements. At the same time we see how foolish it is to regard as trifling the discussion of presuppositions and principles with which the present-day dogmaticians commonly premise their presentation. As a matter of fact it depends upon the very result of this consideration of principles whether or not faith shall receive an adequate presentation in the dogmatic system.

The exact bearing of what has been said will perhaps be understood best by those familiar with the history of theology if it be added that this conception of the dogmatic problem is really an effort to conserve and combine the main interests of the old dogmatics and of the so-called consciousness-theology. The abiding merit of the latter is that it has served to impress upon dogmatics that it must exclude every statement which is not in some way the expression of faith. But in making the believer's consciousness itself the source of knowledge for dogmatics, the previous idea which was quite correct was permitted to eclipse the further fact that faith exists only in inseparable connection with revelation and indeed is nothing else than faith in this revelation. This latter truth is duly recognized in the old dogmatics. Here it is fundamental that the Scriptures as revelation shall dominate the presentation. But just as the interpretation of the Scriptures in the old dogmatics is purely formal, so too as applied to the dogmatic problem itself the Scriptures are used virtually only as a formal authority, and the relation between the individual dogmatic statements and faith is left unclear. In contradistinction from these two methods the dogmatic method here advocated makes everything even the very details grow out of revelation and in such a manner as to make plain the intrinsic necessity with which faith by virtue of its very essence is compelled to assent to the Scriptural witness of revelation.

4. In the last paragraph we have sought to define our idea of the function of dogmatics by showing its relation to other conceptions. But we have dealt with only two conceptions, and the principles of these two are to a certain extent in high accord with our own principles. Perhaps it will serve to further clarify our position in the matter if we now show the relation of our

conception of the dogmatic function to a number of other conceptions the principles of which we totally reject.

It goes without saying that the position here advocated stands in the very strongest contrast to every system of doctrine which as a matter of principle represents undogmatic Christianity. This conception in its most attractive form is to be found in Dreyer's "Undogmatic Christianity." It is easy to see what makes this quest so charming. Dogmatics, it claims, must set forth faith, and faith is something quite different from dogma-faith. It is faith in God. Now from this last statement we readily see how ill-advised it is to emphasize faith and set it in contradiction to dogma rightly understood. Undogmatic Christianity can be demanded in the name of faith only after faith has been deprived of its object and content. Thus faith would cease to be faith. For it is necessary to the concept of faith that it have an object and a very definite content. If, therefore, faith is to be set forth, and not merely faith in the abstract, but the faith of a particular congregation, it is clear that this can be done only by developing the content of faith. And if dogmatics is to claim normative character for a communion, the portrayal of that content must be made from the point of view of the communion concerned.

With those who demand for dogmatics a purely Biblicistic method of procedure we stand on a broad common basis. There is a large element of truth in that demand, for as a matter of fact already stated, the chief sway in dogmatics is held by revelation and therefore by the Bible as the permanent documentary witness of revelation. But this Biblicistic conception overlooks two facts, first that dogmatics cannot be the same as Biblical theology, and secondly that our understanding of revelation has passed through an evolutionary process. Now, however, we may conceive that process, it remains a fact and dare not be overlooked by anyone who would explain to believers of the present the significance of revelation for their faith. Indeed, under the most favorable circumstances it is always vain and illusory when anyone tries to-day to set forth the believer's understanding of revelation and utterly ignores the entire past experience of Christendom. As a matter of fact the Biblicist himself is more or less under the influence of this historical development and this fact he cannot deny even if he does refuse to recognize the wis-

dom of such an evolution. But if it is the avowed purpose of dogmatics to serve the congregation of believers, i. e., if it is to bear ecclesiastical stamp then it must also consciously range itself in the line of ecclesiastical development.

This of course does not mean that the dogmatician of the present can in each instance fulfill his task by merely presenting an historical exposition of all past dogmatic achievements. It is indeed very strange, as many have felt, that a highly meritorious book presenting the dogmatics of the seventeenth century should be entitled "The Dogmatics of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." If we really believe in the continuous activity of God's spirit in the Church we must ever be prepared to find that Spirit continually leading from knowledge to knowledge.

And if the dogmaticians of previous ages have had the task of expressing for their day the understanding of revelation attained up to that time, no less must the dogmatician of the present have the task of setting forth for to-day the believer's understanding of Christian revelation. For that reason our conception of dogmatics is in direct opposition to any method of mere historical exposition. Our aim is to serve the present day and to that end we set up our laboratory on the territory to which the course of history has brought us.

But on the ground of revelation we stand. We cannot hope, therefore, to attain new knowledge through speculation. Once more, therefore, we define our position by distinguishing it sharply from all manner of speculative dogmatics. It is true, a system of dogmatics which sets forth in scientific form the believer's understanding of revelation and consistently traces the logical consequences of his interpretation may seem from two points of view to bear marks of speculative dogmatics. Like speculative dogmatics it is concerned about a well-rounded systematic development based upon a single fundamental idea, and like speculative dogmatics it refuses to share that widespread fear of all that savors of metaphysics. The metaphysics demanded by our conception, however, must be through and through metaphysics of faith. And the development of a single fundamental proposition takes place in our system simply as a matter of fact. Or to be more exact, everything received into the dogmatic presentation must as a matter of fact actually contribute to the development and unfolding of a single funda-

mental thought. But this unfolding accrues to faith only on the ground of revelation and we firmly reject every intimation that the dogmatician can by his own speculative thought deduce the entire content of Christian truth from a single proposition whether of revelation or of his own invention.

Such a speculative method of procedure necessarily bears a purely subjective stamp. But our conception of the dogmatic problem is in conscious opposition to every kind of false subjectivism. True, evangelical faith is thoroughly personal and every presentation of this faith will therefore of necessity manifest more or less of personal character. But in principle the dogmatic presentation is undertaken in the interest of the congregation of believers and from their point of view, and the dogmatician just as with his own personal faith so with his work as dogmatician must place himself in relation to the believing congregation, for the success of his work depends upon his success in bringing the individual personal element into equipoise with the proper rights of the believing community.

And finally, since dogmatics is undertaken in the interest of faith and from that point of view, it must be regarded as fundamental that the dogmatician renounce every effort at solving in addition the problem of apologetics. He cannot of course set forth the Christian faith for the present day without constantly relating it to the various spiritual tendencies of the present and thus designating his attitude towards them. But he everywhere assumes and presupposes the reality of faith and of its contents as set forth. The question concerning the propriety of this presupposition he may leave to apologetics or else the doctrine of Christian certainty.

Thus the function of dogmatics may be summarized once more as the scientific presentation of Christian truth undertaken from the standpoint of faith and in the interest of the congregation of believers and setting forth the truth as it grows out of revelation and is appropriated by faith.

II. THE IMPORT OF DOGMATICS.

1. In determining the function which dogmatics has to perform we have practically determined also its import. For after all, everything that can be said in praise of our discipline may be

summed up in the proposition that dogmatics is the scientific statement of the knowledge accruing to faith. This of course implies that to further explain the import of dogmatics we must set in relief its scientific character. But that involves very difficult problems. We have expressly emphasized the fact that dogmatics has to do throughout with the knowledge which comes of faith. But at the same time it claims to be scientific. Can these two features be reconciled and combined? The knowledge attained through Christian faith is merely a very special sort of religious knowledge in general. But all religious knowledge belongs to the sphere of practical knowing, whereas scientific knowledge is of necessity purely theoretical. And so the question may be raised in all seriousness whether the knowledge attained through faith can possibly become the object of scientific treatment. It would be impossible of course to attempt here a detailed solution of this problem. Suffice it to say in passing that the knowledge which comes through faith however much it may in other respects follow its own laws nevertheless claims to be real objective knowledge of equal validity with theoretical knowledge. It must, therefore, like all other knowledge be capable of scientific treatment and that without obliterating its distinctive peculiarity. For just as we demand of every scientific treatise that it be adapted to its object, so here we require that the presentation preserve intact the peculiar characteristic of our religious knowledge, namely, its origin in Christian faith. With this understanding we hold that the knowledge attained by faith is capable of scientific presentation in three different aspects.

In the first place, the scientific procedure is in duty bound to subject this knowledge to a critical examination. That is to say, the materials of knowledge furnished by the believer's faith must under the scientific method of presentation be sifted so that the important points shall stand out in bold relief, and the entire material be gathered about them, graded and classified. And thereby scientific dogmatics accomplishes something that is altogether in line with the deepest needs of faith itself. For it is of fundamental importance to the believer and vital to the soundness of his faith that he should learn to discriminate, should be able to underscore, and should be ready to make question marks. Indeed we may say that all manner of fanaticism and all unhealthy manifestations of piety if they are of religious origin at

all arise because faith has not acquired a sufficient capacity for critical discernment. Truth may even be degraded into error by one-sided emphasis and piety may develop in a most unhealthy manner if incidentals are made cardinal or if matters of central significance are forced to the periphery. And thus we see that the immediate interests of faith are really conserved in proportion as dogmatics sets to work to analyze its subject through scientific criticism.

In the second place, dogmatics must make good its scientific character by placing the knowledge of Christian faith in its proper relation to all other scientific knowledge of truth. This need not be done after the manner of apologetics by first furnishing proof for the specific materials of knowledge which constitute its subject. That misconception we have already corrected. Dogmatics like every other science simply assumes the reality of the objects with which it has to do and the knowledge attained by faith carries within itself its absoluteness and the guarantee of its truth. However much, therefore, dogmatics must insist upon its independence and distinctiveness, it is nevertheless science, and as such must continue to maintain a close relation with science in general. This end is secured not merely by treating in a strictly scientific manner the elements of knowledge presented, but also by relating that knowledge at every point to the remaining content of the present-day treasury of spiritual truth. And here again the scientific presentation of dogmatics is in full accord with the best interests of faith itself. For thus the Christian is no solitary figure in his age, and the Christian knowledge which is his peculiar possession is no isolated quantity. Rather is the healthfulness and firmness of this knowledge assured just in proportion as the Christian can bring it into clear connection and conformity with his other spiritual possessions.

Dogmatics must, however, not only enter unreservedly into the spiritual situation of its day, but must also on the other hand maintain intact its own independence. Now to emphasize the independence of dogmatics may be superfluous and might even be dangerous where the problem in hand is merely to work out for the dogmatic presentation the scientific methods and principles of knowledge. It may seem at the very outset to discredit the scientific character of dogmatics if it lays claim in any way to special "method." And in a certain sense the demand is

entirely justified that dogmatics to be science shall reserve no special rights whatever. But we dare not overlook the fact that one of the most simple and fundamental principles of all scientific presentation requires that the entire method of presentation be adapted to the subject with which it deals. We are no longer in the happy position in which the old Lutheran dogmaticians were of being able to receive bodily from some other source the foundations and principles of knowledge. The dogmatics of to-day cannot hold aloof; it must join with all other sciences in the earnest and zealous effort to ascertain those principles and lay those foundations. And yet despite his honest effort at collaboration, the dogmatician will finally come to certain points where he will simply be compelled for the sake of his subject to go his own way. And as men of science we cannot but regard it as one of the most pleasing signs of the times that men are coming to realize more and more to what extent the consequences of different fundamental views and of different philosophical presuppositions will ultimately manifest themselves.

In fullest measure, however, it is true of the materials of knowledge that dogmatics cannot simply receive them bodily from some external source. It is not for us here to decide to what extent the charge against the old dogmatics is justified that it simply adds together "natural" and "supernatural" knowledge. Suffice it to say that for us at any rate that method of procedure has become impossible. So that the general difficulty noted above of forming judgments in dogmatics is realized in this connection with peculiar force. The dogmatician must not only relate the special knowledge of the believer to all other forms of assured truth but must also add to his own store of knowledge and willingly learn wherever there is something to be learned. But no element whatever of knowledge can be received into the dogmatic system except as it can be appropriated in some way by faith and thus compelling the assent of faith becomes a part of that knowledge which constitutes the proper content of dogmatics.

This thought affords an easy transition to the third task which dogmatics in its scientific character has to fulfill. It must above all satisfy the demand for uniformity of knowledge. This it does in a three-fold manner. In the first place dogmatics guarantees the unity of theology in general by taking the individual

diversified elements of knowledge attained by the other theological disciplines and combining them into a systematic and uniform understanding of Christianity. Secondly, dogmatics as has been shown above must perform for the Christian the important duty of moulding into single unity the knowledge coming through faith and all other knowledge of truth. Finally,—and this is the point of most importance in this connection—dogmatics must work out in scientific manner the unity which actually exists in faith itself.

In other words dogmatics to be scientific dare not give up the earnest effort at *system*, if we may be permitted to use a term which has been the object of so much attack. Here again it is not merely a matter of meeting the demands of science, nor is it a question of satisfying a purely speculative interest, but here as elsewhere dogmatics may consciously and deliberately minister to the sole needs of faith itself. Faith is as a matter of fact an inner unity. The individual elements of knowledge do not by any means simply lie side by side. Rather do they group themselves about the center which carries them and holds them together. The dogmatic presentation, therefore, cannot be said to follow an adequate method of procedure unless it seeks to pattern after that centralized unity of faith. Of course it would be utterly objectionable so to interpret the desire for system as to mean that the dogmatician must with the means at his disposal derive the entire content of Christian truth from any single proposition, perhaps even of his own construing. But this misconception we have already dealt with. Moreover, every individual element of knowledge in faith comes only by virtue of revelation. And this is a fact that the scientific presentation dare not overlook, not even in the smallest details. But the fact that these elements of knowledge have their footing in revelation means further that they group themselves about a common center. Thus we see again that dogmatics proceeds adequately only when it starts from the common center and then having mastered all details sets them in clear relation to that center.

Nor can it be argued against this view that all human knowing is as a matter of fact merely a piece-meal process and that it is therefore from the very nature of the case a direful corruption of the believer's knowledge to try to attain a uniform system of

knowledge. This truth which the objector would like to use against dogmatics has in reality a different application. It serves to remind us of the bounds set to *all* our knowledge here in time and impresses upon us the sober discretion thus demanded of us. For it certainly cannot be taken to mean that the individual "pieces" enter isolated into the Christian's consciousness. They are in reality the sure property of the Christian only in proportion as they are connected with the central and controlling feature of his knowledge. We are dealing here with a relationship actually existent and the degree in which the Christian consciously realizes his actual obligation may vary greatly. It may even occur that the Christian would be compelled for the sake of his faith to hold fast to different truths which he is unable as yet to reconcile with each other or which he may feel to be actually disparate. But now to use this as an argument against system in dogmatics would be to overlook the fact that such an incompatibility between the various elements of knowledge within the Christian's consciousness is felt by the Christian himself to be an incompatibility and one which he fain would remove. And his knowledge will not be clear and certain until he does remove the difficulty. Should he fail in the effort his faith can be maintained only by a stout "nevertheless." This may indeed in the sphere of knowledge lead under certain circumstances to a strengthening of the believer's conviction, but of course only as this "nevertheless" constantly seeks a solution.

Our conclusion, therefore, must be that dogmatics just because it seeks adequately to set forth faith must strive after the unity of a system. At the same time the dogmatician may be fully alive to the dangers which it must be admitted attend all constructing of systems. It is easy to see how readily the systematician can be tempted to pass over certain building-stones because they do not fit into his system or how he may trim and dress clumsy facts to make them fit. But however emphatically we may warn him of these dangers and however narrowly we may watch him at this work, we must nevertheless recognize that his work can only be really complete in proportion as he moulds every detail into a single unity of knowledge.

2. The argument up to this point has already received application to the import of dogmatics and that repeatedly without our intending it. This followed of necessity from what was said

at the beginning of this second part. The more seriously the dogmatician takes his duty to science, the more immediate will be his service to faith and to the believing congregation. This may be shown in detail under three aspects.

The kernel of the whole matter consists of course in the fact that dogmatics performs for the believing congregation and through it for the individual Christian a valuable service by helping to arrange and clarify the store of knowledge which has been attained through faith. From this it may appear as if dogmatics accomplishes only a very modest end. And in a certain sense this is true. The dogmatician who realizes his function and his limitations will not claim by his dogmatics to create *new* knowledge. Just as he must begin with faith, so too the materials for his work are found in the knowledge attained by faith. But it is just by his treatment of this material that he performs the very service about which alone faith and the congregation of believers are concerned. What would it profit this congregation if a speculative dogmatics should heap upon it the most profound reflections concerning God and divine things? Suppose, too, that all these reflections were true and beautiful and sublime, how after all would that profit faith? Faith simply does not live on all manner of good and beautiful reflections. If it is faith in God it can live only through the reality in which it meets God, i. e., through revelation. Its only concern, therefore, is to secure a clear exposition of that revelation.

But this is a matter of vital concern to faith. It is a grand mistake to suppose that a too clear formulation or a too lucid expression of the believer's knowledge might be dangerous to faith itself. And it is indeed an odd conception we must sometimes hear, that Christian piety can flourish best in the romantic atmosphere of dim and hazy feelings. Evangelical piety means faith in the God of revelation. It is therefore a matter of vital importance to faith that it be guided into a clear knowledge of that revelation and to a lucid and forceful expression of that knowledge. But this thought has already been sufficiently developed in what we have said above.

Another hazy and utterly dangerous conception is this, that the less piety is burdened with dogma the more practical it becomes. And it is illusory to support a conception by pointing to a certain change in the periods of Church history and to cer-

tain manifestations in present-day life. If a dogma is a mere lifeless possession which the Christian claims as his own, then it will indeed be a heavy burden to him and instead of being borne along by his faith he will be weighed down by his burden of dogma. And whenever the Church permits herself to become involved in controversy over dogma in that sense, however earnest the debate, it cannot but result in noble powers misspent. But that is not the point here. The mistake is not that faith is too persistent in its efforts at a clear formulation of its knowledge, but that a faith which really is not evangelical faith claims to possess something which it calls dogma but which as a matter of fact it does not possess. On the contrary, where genuine faith actually exists, its practical exercise so far from being hindered will be greatly aided by a clear understanding of its content, its motives, and its aims. If, as we believe, genuine faith furnishes efficient motives for practical activity as nothing else can, surely we must recognize that a clear conception of that faith and a distinct understanding of its peculiar character will be of vital importance in carrying out those motives. This has nothing to do with the controversy concerning intellectualism and voluntarism. Our only concern here is that evangelical faith should be conscious faith and that the manifestations of that faith in practical activity should take place under the constant and conscious direction of the believer. This requires that faith understand itself.

From these two points of view, therefore, the dogmatician may hope to render a service to faith by carefully presenting the content of the believer's knowledge in clear and distinct formulation. In doing this he ministers at the same time to the progress of knowledge. By this we do not mean to retract our assertion that dogmatics cannot *create* new knowledge in addition to that supplied by faith. As faith itself has its origin in religious experience, so too every real contribution to the sum of knowledge coming through faith must necessarily come through religious experience. But dogmatics can help towards such a contribution by systematizing and clarifying the knowledge already attained and thus preparing the way for new experience, stimulating to it and perhaps even guiding directly to it. More than that, dogmatics can in a certain sense make a direct contribution to progress in knowledge. For every classification of knowledge

already possessed must in itself denote an increment in the value of that possession. Moreover, dogmatics helps to deepen knowledge by connecting the individual portions of knowledge and combining them according to the logic of faith, illuminating the details with the light of the whole and vice versa.

This is the service that dogmatics performs for the Church, and this means that the dogmatician can expect a sympathetic hearing primarily only from those who share the faith of that Church. And yet he may hope for more. He may hope also to serve those who reject the faith of the Church whether in part or as a whole. Not that he is able with his dogmatics to lead the unbeliever to faith nor yet that he could wish to secure his intellectual assent to the dogmatic propositions. This is a mistake that dogmatics must guard against. For to betray anyone into such a mere outward appropriation would be to beget a purely imaginary possession, everywhere so deplorable and dangerous but specially perilous in matters of religion. The saddest feature of such false possession is that the unconscious victim neglects entirely to secure any real possessions. Now the only desire of the dogmatician can be that his presentation of the treasure of faith may beget in unbelievers the desire to secure for themselves that real treasure. In this he will not succeed, however, if he makes it the primary aim of his work. For it is only incidental. At any rate it would be a fundamental mistake if the dogmatician should take cognizance of those outside the Church and in order to win their approval should cut and trim the believer's own treasure of knowledge. He would thus not only betray his trust and neglect his duty to the congregation of the faithful but would also render a questionable service to those whom he intended to serve.

This brings us to the second main point which I would emphasize. Dogmatics properly understood and executed renders the congregation an immediate service in fulfilling the primary duty of the congregation, namely, to proclaim the Gospel. It is true, we are to preach revelation not dogmas, the Gospel, not doctrines. And the dogmatics here represented would lay special emphasis on that fact. We recognize clearly as any one that men would not be helped by a doctrine. A drowning man cannot be supported by all manner of sound teaching. No more can a lost soul be rescued by indoctrination concerning his lost

estate and how he can extricate himself. His sole need is not sound doctrine but the deed of rescue. And we know that God's revelation alone can rescue and save. Such being the case, we deem it of vital importance that the witness of that revelation should continue in the congregation with unabated vigor and that the Gospel should "be taught in purity and simplicity." Dogmatics contributes to this end by clearly formulating the Church's interpretation of revelation and placing that interpretation in the hands of the chosen witnesses of the Church.

This is not intended to mean that the preacher has only to hold up this systematic formulation before the Church as a complete entity for her appropriation. This would be committing the very error against which we have warned the dogmatician himself. If the preacher were content with such a mere oral proclamation of the knowledge which the Church considers valid, the result would probably be that some would mistake intellectual assent for faith itself while others believing in spite of themselves would believe to their own undoing and yet not come to real faith. No, preaching can have but one function and that is constantly to present to the Church God's revelation as a living power so that the God of revelation may Himself in His revealed Word approach man and through His Gospel may Himself call forth faith. But for the effective witness of revelation dogmatics performs a most important service by making plain how that revelation begets and maintains faith. Thus dogmatics enables the preacher to preach with psychological understanding. Ethics does the same thing by describing the inner processes through which men come to believe in revelation. There is absolutely no reason, therefore, to fear that too much dogmatics might harm the preacher. Far more serious is the danger of too little dogmatics. The preacher should see clearly the points of connection between the individual statements of faith and the one central theme of his preaching and should realize also how those individual statements are grounded in revelation. The more he does this the better will he be able to help his hearers to an experience in which they too shall come to a personal understanding of the knowledge accruing to faith and make it a personal possession of their own faith.

Dogmatics in helping the Church to bear proper testimony concerning the Gospel helps her also to prove herself the ground

and pillar of truth. This is the final service which dogmatics renders the Church. It is true, nothing else has brought upon the Church such cordial hatred as her claim to be the bearer of truth in this world. And yet no other claim must she insist upon so stoutly. Amid the conflict of opinions and the confusion of the day the Church is intended by God to be a witness to eternal truth binding men forever to the one eternal God. And the Church is in a position to fulfill this high mission only because she has been entrusted with the divine revelation. Jesus Christ is the way by which God draws men into fellowship with Himself, and he is therefore the *Truth*. And since the Church knows of that revelation and since she has been entrusted with the witness to that revelation, she may rightfully claim to possess the truth. This is a great honor but it also means a vast responsibility. For it makes it her duty to be led under God into an ever clearer understanding of revelation, to transmit it from generation to generation, and ever to fill it with efficacy and power for each new age. Thus to perform the modest service of intermediation in this the loftiest calling of the Church is the dogmatician's highest duty and greatest honor.

And thus the close of this second article reverts to the beginning of the first: the dogmatician has to do with the clear presentation of the absolute Truth. From the very nature of the case therefore he cannot expect that his efforts will meet with the favor of those who recognize only relative values. But he may count upon the sympathy of all who would lead our generation beyond the question of Pilate, "What is truth?"

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE VI.

THE INCREASING CONTEMPT FOR THE BLESSING
OF CHILDREN.

BY REV. H. J. SCHUH, A.M.

Translated from the German by Rev. C. V. Sheatsley.

“Lo, children are an heritage of the Lord and the fruit of the womb is his reward. As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man; so are children of the youth. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them: they shall not be ashamed, but they shall speak with the enemies in the gate.” Ps. 127:3-5. In the 128th Psalm God has promised those that fear Him: “Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine by the sides of thine house; thy children like olive plants round about thy table.” The pious both of the Old and of the New Testament placed a very high valuation upon the blessing of children. To be without issue was looked upon by the married pair as a severe cross of affliction, yea, even as a disgrace. How pathetic the plaint of Abraham when he says: “Lord God what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless. Gen. 15:2. So sensitive was Sarah of her barrenness that she gave to her husband her maid Hagar to wife, that through her she might have issue. Rachel was so depressed at her lack of the blessing of children that she implored her husband Jacob, “give me children or else I die,” Gen. 30:1. Without children she had no desire to live. When at last Joseph was born she cried out, “God hath taken away my reproach.” Gen. 30:23. Hannah bewailed the fact that she had no children and vowed to the Lord, “O Lord of hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of thine handmaid, and remember me and not forget thine handmaid, but will give unto thine handmaid a man child, then I will give him unto the Lord all the days of his life.” 1 Sam. 1:11. Her soul burst forth in a hymn of praise when at last in answer to her pleadings Samuel was born. Zacharias and Elizabeth experienced keen disappointment that in their old age they were without children. These were the words of the angel of the Lord when he promised Zacharias a son, “Fear not Zacharias; for thy prayer is heard; and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son.”

Luke 1:13. He had, therefore, suppliantly begged for a son and should now rejoice that his prayer was answered. Beautifully he expressed his joy in the psalm of praise which he offered at the circumcision of the child. Luke 1:68-69.

I. THE FACTS.

But how times have changed. When we compare our modern society with the pious of the Bible we note a remarkable difference. In derision children are spoken of as gifts of God. They are looked upon not as a noble blessing but as a burden grievous to be borne. It is horrifying to see and hear the boldness with which the Word of God is contemned. Fruitful couples are classed with hares, and mothers are compared with dams. To what lengths people will go in this matter may be seen from the statement of an influential magazine of our land. In the "Arena," 1906, Prof. Frank T. Carlton writes: "A young man is seriously hampered at the present time, if he becomes the father of a large family..... The instinct or desire for offspring is placed in opposition to the strong human ambition to maintain and advance one's social and economic position."

"Exhortations against race suicide, if they produce any appreciable effect, act almost entirely upon the class, which does not need, from any point of view, such admonitions..... In our own United States, not race suicide but the reverse is to be feared. Large families and the consequent low standard of living are the curse of our great cities and the fruitful cause of misery, crime, and degredation.....Until those near the poverty line can be brought to abstain from propagating unreasonably large families, betterment of these people, as a class, is hopeless.Instead of looking toward increasing the birth rate among all classes, it is more to the point to look toward decreasing the rate of increase among the poorer classes of people."

To what a pass it has come in the contempt for motherhood may be gleaned from an article written by a woman in the "Independent," 1907, concerning her own barrenness which was not her portion by nature but by a nefarious practice. The article is headed, "A Woman's Reason," and would enlighten us as follows: "Rather than bring children into the world as the women of our foreign quarters do, without one chance or hope of a de-

cent start in life, destined from birth for wage slavery and exploitation or worse, I would commit suicide..... Are the bodies of women to be regarded merely as baby machines, to supply the losses which civilization creates by its foul mismanagement? If society wants more children let it go save some of those already born before it calls on me for more..... You cannot use me to breed food for your factories."

"Strangeto say such statements as the above do not stand alone. Without a sense of shame, childlessness or at least limiting the number of children is advocated. Almost alone among men of national reputation stands ex-President Roosevelt in his earnest warning against the disgrace and curse of race suicide. And his words have become a target for ridicule; however, what he says on this subject merits earnest consideration. In his address to the National Congress of Mothers assembled in Washington, D. C., 1905, we read: "No piled up wealth, no splendor of material growth, no brilliancy of artistic development will permanently avail any people unless its home life is healthy, unless the average man possess honesty, courage, sense and decency, unless he works hard and is willing at need to fight hard; unless the average woman is a good wife, a good mother, able and willing to perform the first and greatest duty of womanhood, able and willing to bear, and to bring up healthy children sound in body, mind and character and numerous enough so that the race shall increase and not decrease..... The most honorable and desirable task which can be set any woman is to be a good and wise mother in a home marked by self-respect and mutual forbearance, by willingness to perform duty and by refusal to sink into self-indulge or avoid that which entails effort and self-sacrifice."

"There are many good people who are denied the supreme blessing of children and for these we have the respect and sympathy always due to those who from no fault of their own are denied any of the other great blessings of life. But the man or woman who deliberately forgoes these blessings, whether from viciousness, coldness, shallow-heartedness, self-indulgence or mere failure to appreciate aright the difference between the all-important, and the unimportant, why, such a creature merits contempt as hearty as any visited upon the soldier who runs away in battle or upon the man who refuses to work for the support of those dependent upon him,

and who, though able-bodied, is yet content to eat in idleness the bread which others provide." "A race that practiced such doctrine—that is a race that practiced race suicide—would thereby conclusively show that it was unfit to exist and that it had better give place to people who had not forgotten the primary laws of their being,..... The woman's task is not easy—no task worth doing is easy—but in doing it and when she has done it there shall come to her the highest and holiest joy known to mankind; and having done it she shall have the reward prophesied in the Scripture; for her husband and her children, who realize that her work lies at the foundation of all national happiness and greatness, shall rise up and call her blessed."—*Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1905. And in an article in the "Review of Reviews," 1907, he calls those to account who advocate limiting the number of children. "If through no fault of theirs they (the parents) have no children they are entitled to our deepest sympathy. If they refuse to have children sufficient in number to mean that the race goes forward and not back, if they refuse to bring them up healthy in body and mind they are criminals."

This is an honest and manly word. Such an admonition is worth more than volumes which, by giving pretended reasons to heal the smart of conscience, seek to excuse those cowards who because of their sensuality have no desire to do their duty. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and this refers not only to the individual but also to the nation and the race.

Entirely in the same spirit Frederick L. Hoffman expresses himself in the "North American Review," May 1909, "That the reduction of the birth rate has been due to a decline in reproductive power is extremely doubtful. There remains then only one other explanation and that is the truly momentous conclusion that the decline in the birth rate of native stock is deliberate, or the result of preventive checks, all more or less immoral or unnatural, as the case may be. It would be impossible to frame a more terrible indictment of what we generally speak of as the best element, but it is time the truth were told and realized before it is too late."

Some years ago in this "Review," Ida Husted Harper, a strenuous advocate of woman's rights, came out plainly and emphatically in a statement to the effect that the intelligent people have learned that it is easily possible to regulate the size of the

family without injury to health or morals, and they *will* regulate it. The knowledge has proven the greatest blessing to women. And this monstrous advice of a deliberate crime stands unchallenged and without protest as a sorry reflection upon American manners and morals at the beginning of the twentieth century.

We can only rejoice that a man lifts his voice in testimony against this evil. Whether it will bear much fruit is very doubtful. But if our people are to be helped at all the beginning must be made by not covering but uncovering the facts.

But are there really evidences warranting the term race suicide among our American people? What facts, if any, do we have admonishing us to an earnest consideration of this subject?

In the first place it is no secret that many do not marry because they desire to avoid the burden of raising children. And the number of those who remain single has, in proportion to the population, increased very rapidly. The percentage of unmarried women between the ages of 25 and 45 years has, in the period from 1800 to 1900 increased from 16 to 18 per cent. Rather than be bothered with the bearing and rearing of children many remain single. For the satisfying of sexual desires other expedients are sought out. And in the same measure that matrimony is despised prostitution is increased.

But this is by no means the worst of the case. The words, "be fruitful and multiply," seem to have lost their meaning among many. On entering the marriage relation the understanding is reached that the union shall be childless. With reference hereto statistics show some phases that fill one with anxious concern for the future. In the last years the proportionate number of births shows a steady decrease. In 1850 to every 1000 women of child-bearing age there were 626 children; in 1870, 572; in 1890, 485; in 1900, only 479, a continuous decrease. During the period between the first national census and the last one, 1900, the average number in the American family has decreased from 5.8 to 4.6. The proportion of children to the number of women has in this period been reduced by one-half, that is, the proportionate number has been reduced in about 100 years by 50 per cent.

If, during this period we had had no immigration the comparison would be much more unfavorable. In this respect our American stock stands in a more unfavorable light than does our

immigrant population. In the period between 1890 and 1900 the excess number of births over the deaths per 1000 foreign born was 36.5 and among the native Americans only 19.5. In the Yankee State of Connecticut it stands as follows. foreign born 42.5, native American, 1.8.

If the future depends upon our native stock the prospect is certainly gloomy; as a people we would soon be at the end of our career. If immigration would not make good our losses we would soon be where France is now. During the past year in that country the deaths outnumbered the births by about 28,000. One-sixth of the French families are without children; one-fourth have only one child; one-fifth only two children. The average number of children in the French family has decreased to three. The self-preservation of a nation requires at least four children to the family.

The native women of Massachusetts give birth to only 7-11 as many children as the German immigrants of that State. Without doubt the Yankees as a race are dying out. However much one may contend against immigration, eventually we have to thank the oft hated foreigner that we as a nation have a future.

Let a specialist tell us how matters stand, and how our people strive against being the chosen instruments of God for the peopling of the earth with its noblest creatures. J. M. Rubinow, M.D., of Washington, D. C., states in the "American Journal of Sociology," Vol. 12, p. 629: "The desire to prevent conception has become dominant among women of the great middle class of this country, and in my own medical experience, which lasted only four years, I met hardly a single middle class family in which this was not general, often before the first child was born. Moreover, the growing desire to escape the natural consequences of normal married life, has created a new mental disease, the fear of conception, which makes a mental wreck of many a normal and healthy woman. Last but not least, since our form of marriage has not even begun to adjust itself to this almost universal fear of parentage, unsatisfactory marriage relations at home lead by a narrow but hardly straight path to prostitution, and it is no secret to the specialist in venereal diseases that the social evil is supported by married men no less than unmarried."

And where pregnancy has actually taken place an unnatural miscarriage is often superinduced. Judge John Proctor Clark

makes the claim that in New York alone 100,000 abortions take place annually, and in Chicago 6,000 to 10,000. From 20 to 25 per cent. of the pregnancy cases end in abortions and of this number at least the half are of a criminal nature. (See "Journal of American Medical Society," 1908, p. 958).

These conditions almost cause one's hair to stand on end. When even a worldly-minded doctor asks: "With feticide among our best element, and with a constantly increasing influx of degenerates from foreign countries, what can be expected of us as a nation a few generations hence?" What should we as Christians say, yes, we as pastors, who stand as watchmen upon the walls of Zion, what should we say? Are only the heathen among us guilty of such abominations? Sorry to say we must answer, no. Oftimes those who would have it appear that they are leading godly lives, yes who are prominent in Christian congregations, are guilty of these things. When we carefully look about in our own congregations we find that they are not proof against this abominable influence. The baptismal registers of our larger and older congregations enter a humiliating testimony against us. The number of unmarried, the number of married without children and the one-and-two-child marriages have increased also among us. In corroboration we cite a few cases from the parochial reports in our Ohio Synod. We shall limit our citations to the three older districts, the Western, the Northern and the Eastern. In each district we shall take the three largest congregations. The period considered covers 20 years, 1888-1908. In the table following we quote from the printed synodical reports, giving the number of those entitled to communion, the number of baptisms and the percentage of baptisms to the communicant membership.

	Communicants		Baptisms		Percentage	
	1888	1908	1888	1908	1888	1908
Western District:						
Columbus	700	625	50	34	7.	5.5
Hamilton	650	642	69	33	10.6	5.2
Richmond	631	629	24	16	3.8	2.5
Northern District:						
Ft. Wayne	750	950	47	20	6.2	2.1
Galion	540	504	25	20	4.8	3.8

Woodville	460	820	25	24	5.4	2.9
Eastern District:						
Allegheny	875	1200	72	62	8.5	5.1
Canton	490	480	51	34	10.4	7.
Butler	488	675	48	40	9.8	5.9

Taking the nine congregations together we find that the percentage of baptisms to communicants in 1888 was 7.3, in 1908 4.4. Accordingly in less than a quarter of a century the fruitfulness of these congregations has decreased by nearly one-half; and certainly these congregations do not stand alone. In other congregations, especially among the older ones, conditions are not any better.

The above figures create suspicion. Every one of us may, however, without these figures, recall cases in his own community where young native American couples are quite well satisfied with one or two children, while their parents who had come from Germany were proud to have ten or twelve. When to-day we speak of a family of twelve children, as a rule the children are grown-ups. So numerous a progeny in a younger family is such a rarity that it becomes conspicuous and, not seldom, a subject of ridicule. Prof. Edward Ross of the State University of Wisconsin, is certainly correct when he says: "Parents who trust in Providence and hold with Luther that God makes children and will provide for them are rare now-a-days." This situation indicates that our congregations are conforming to this world. Yes, the contempt for the blessing of children has invaded the Church. With pity, if not in derision, are those looked upon who are plagued with such a "rich" (?) blessing. On the other hand those are looked upon with envy to whom the stork seldom if ever comes. Yes, among those who would call themselves Christians there are many who are "much obliged" for children. We cannot explain in any other way the dwindling of our baptismal registers.

The most revolting means are used to prevent pregnancy, and should it unwittingly occur, abortive means are used to dispose of the fruit of the womb. We doubt whether conditions were worse in ancient Sodom. Many a wretched woman would rather lie on the operating table than in the child-bed. Yes, many a one has been taken to the insane asylum or laid in the grave simply because she did not want to become a mother. Unprinci-

pled doctors carry on their damnable practice so publicly that the sparrows on the roof know where one can get "help" should the danger inadvertently arise that a child might be born. In the public press all manner of methods are advertised that are unfailingly to prevent or destroy conception. Let us hear what a specialist says: Walter B. Dorset in an article in the "Journal of the American Medical Association, 1908, on the subject of "Criminal Abortion" writes: "Self-induced abortion or abortion produced by a fashionable or fad doctor is, as we know, a fruitful cause of the horrible pus cases in which we are now and then called to operate. This fad doctor is one with a lucrative practice, and is often the lion at social functions. He it is who empties the uterus in cases of emesis gravidarum without racking his precious brain in trying all recognized remedies and methods to check the vomiting. He it is who finds so many cases of contracted pelvis where it is utterly impossible to do anything but an early abortion to save the woman's life. He it is who finds so many cases of retention of menses that require dilation and curettement. He it is who finds the urine 'loaded with albumen' necessitating an immediate emptying of the uterus to prevent death from Bright's disease. Such men and women prostitute the profession of medicine and should be exposed."

Not only women but also men, through surgical operations, maim themselves to destroy every possibility of issue. It is awful to what cunning deviltry men will resort to escape duties which God has laid upon those who would enter the married estate and whom He would have be fruitful. All the wisdom of modern medical science is pressed into service that sexual intercourse may be indulged in and yet escape its legitimate results. It seems as though the devil himself had sworn to exterminate us, and indeed he is on the right road to accomplish his purpose.

II. CAUSES.

If we inquire into the causes of the decreasing number of births we will find that they may be divided into two classes: natural causes, and causes governed by the human will. It has been stated that our people are naturally not as fruitful now as they were a hundred years ago. Increasing culture shows quite naturally a decreasing fertility. As a nation increases in pros-

perity, it decreases in fruitfulness. It is true that the poorer and more uncultured strata in society show the most rapid increase. We, however, question very seriously whether the cause must be sought in nature. It is evidently true, as one has expressed it, that the large families live in the small houses, and the small families in the large houses; but we doubt whether opulence, or culture in themselves, apart from the will, forces the birth-rate downward. In fact, the very opposite should be, true. Where the support of progeny is already guaranteed, there the birth-rate should be higher than where with the coming of every child comes also the anxiety for its support. Prof. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, claims: "In the face of hobby riders I maintain that the cause of the shrinkage in human fecundity lies in the human will as influenced by certain factors which have their roots deep in the civilization of our times."

Yet, we may speak of an increasing involuntary childlessness. There are plenty of couples who would rejoice greatly to have a child or two, but who wait in vain, and for whom medical science can render no assistance. In what follows we do not desire to throw suspicion on every couple having no children. God alone knows why this or that couple, though ardently desiring it, are denied the blessing of children. God keep us from uncharitable judgments. But it is a fact that venereal diseases, even when they are supposed to be cured, are the most frequent causes of sterility. Through illegitimate sexual intercourse before marriage many a man has made the procreation of children impossible. In many a wife, who has taken this scourge with her into wedlock or who has been inoculated with it by her husband, all possibility of fruitfulness has been destroyed. But on this delicate point let us also hear what the specialist has to say. Joseph Taber Johnson, A.M., M.D., of Washington, D. C., expresses himself in the "Journal of the American Medical Society," 1907, as follows: "One may safely state that gonorrhea is the most frequent of adult diseases. The lowest estimate which we meet in recent literature is that at least 75 per cent. of the male inhabitants of our cities between the ages of 18 and 28 have had or now have this disease. Its frequency is placed by many at a much higher rate, varying from 75 to 95 per cent. It is probable that the latter figure is more nearly correct than the former." (This is enough to fill one with horror).

It was formerly believed that in nine out of ten childless marriages the fault was that of the wife. It is now known that in a much larger proportion than was suspected the husband himself is sterile, and that in a great number of cases this sterility is caused by the effects of gonorrheal infection.

Morrow has pointed out that gonococal infection is a more potent factor in the production of involuntary race suicide than syphilis by the sterility induced in both sexes; but more frequently in women on account of the ascending destructive and incurable infection of the tubes and ovaries.

Noegerath has expressed his belief that 50 per cent. of female sterility is caused by gonorrhœa.

The phase of the gonococcus infection which especially interests and occupies us to-day is its influence as a depopulator. This influence is again shown in the great number of mutilating and unsexing operations which are required to save the lives and restore the health of a large number of infected women. The oft repeated statement is familiar to you all, that at least one-half of the abominable operations of the world are necessitated on account of gonorrheal infection. While this statement is startling, the sad part of it is that it falls far short of the actual facts.

"The depopulating influence of this specific infection is seen again in the production of what has come to be known as "one child" sterility. It is possible for a woman who has gonorrhea in the anterior portion of her birth canal to conceive and to give birth to a child. The child has, however, a very dangerous gauntlet to run to be born alive, as well as to escape opthalmia neonatorum, which statisticians tell us is the cause of about 30 per cent. of the blindness in this country. The aptitude of a gonorrheic woman for conception is often extinguished by the first pregnancy, the one child representing the sum total of her reproductive energy."

Surely here the word finds its fulfillment: "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me." Yes, God is not mocked, "the face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth." Ps. 34:16. "Evil doers shall be cut off." Ps. 37:9. "When the wicked are cut off thou shalt see it." Ps. 37:34.

How often are these warnings repeated in the Scriptures; but the world is blind and will not be warned.

Aside from the natural causes for the decrease in the number of births we must also consider the causes dependent upon the human will. Here we must begin with lack of the fear of God. Men fear no longer Him who said, "be fruitful and multiply," therefore are His laws trampled under foot. Men consider not that God discovers all secret sins. Men inquire not of His will but consider only their own conveniences. Men look not upon themselves as God's implements and His representatives but as their own lords and masters. This godless generation not only declares "there is no God" but also acts accordingly. Without doubt the falling away from faith and the increasing godlessness are the most potent causes for despising the blessing of children.

Closely allied herewith is the aversion to cross-bearing. Many women seek to escape the pains of pregnancy, the birth-throes, and the burden of rearing children. They no longer want to bow to the words: "I will greatly multiply thy pain and thy conception; in pain thou shalt bring forth children." Men no longer desire to bow to the words: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." More pleasure and less work is the motto of our times. We have become a sensual people and it would seem that we crave the baser desires, and here children are in the way. On this subject we quote the above mentioned Prof. Ross: "Wants and tastes once confined to the social elite spread resistlessly downward and infect the masses. Tidal waves of imitation carry the craving for luxuries hitherto looked upon as the prerogatives of the rich, among millions of people of limited means, and these in their endeavor to gratify their newly acquired wants learn to economise in offspring. The little stranger trenches on raiment, bric-a-brac, upholstery, travel and entertainment. Here the decencies, there the comforts, yonder the refinements and vanities of life compete with the possible child and bar it from existence." The modern lady of fashion would rather fondle and caress a lap-dog than a child of her own flesh and blood. Because the child brings with it labor and care and hinders the parents in following the pleasures of this life it must be smothered in the womb. As sensuality increases the number of children decreases. The number of children must be limited

because of the excessive cost incident to the following of the follies of fashion.

Avarice is also a cause for the decreasing number of children or the absence of them altogether. To raise children costs money. Where money has become a god, even the fruit of the womb must be sacrificed to this modern Moloch. The shining gold is dearer to the miser than the golden locks of an innocent child. The number of children is oftentimes limited in order that the inheritance may fall into larger shares. Shame on the avarice that loves mammon more than a housefull of happy, healthy children. Surely that must be a shrivelled soul that would sacrifice the most sacred instincts of nature for riches.

III. CONSEQUENCES.

What are the consequences of this contempt for the blessing of children? This question may be answered both from a civil and from an ecclesiastical point of view. Let us look at the matter first from a civil point of view. We strive after progress in the arts and sciences; we are proud of our wealth and our education, but what boots it all if we as a people are dying out? The home, the family is the foundation of our public welfare. But how can the family exist without children? The barbarians inherited the culture of ancient Greece and Rome. But they inherited only the ruins. With us it will not be any better. Of what value are outward appearances if internal decay is hastening our destruction? Greece was a land of culture. Rome gathered treasure from all parts of the world and yet these powers went down in shame and disgrace. It is true the Roman empire was destroyed from without but only after it had become rotten from within. We will fare no better. Where the holiest affections, the love of wife and child, are smothered there also the love of country will eventually vanish. Where children are not wanted the brothel soon crowds out the home. Nothing so rapidly eats out the vitals of our well-being as the propensity to the social vice. Manly strength and womanly charm must wither away at its poisonous breath.

Flats, apartments, boarding houses, hotels and clubs enter strongly into competition with the plain children-blessed homes of our best citizens. In all of these substitutes children are

either not allowed at all, or at best, are only tolerated. With the plain home also go the simple customs and virtues upon which our national well-being so largely depends. Just as certainly as God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah by the fire of his wrath, just so certainly will we not be able to escape this wrath if we continue on the way which we have chosen.

It is a miserable delusion to believe that through the limiting of the number of children to one or two we can improve the quality at the expense of the quantity. The best and noblest of our citizens have not sprung from families where the one and two children system had been introduced. Generally they sprang from large families. Audubon was the twenty-first child in the family, Daniel Webster the seventh, Benjamin Franklin the seventeenth, Schubert the twelfth, Luther was one of eight and Melancthon one of five children. The danger of pampering and distorting the education is much greater where there is but one child than where there are a number. Not only the quantity but also the quality of our people is in danger where there is a willful limiting of progeny.

But not only is the future in danger, the present even is not safe. God is not mocked. The laws of nature cannot be trampled upon without suffering the consequences. It has already been pointed out that the more the blessing of children is despised the more the social vices gain the upper hand. The sexual nature cannot be eradicated. If the sexual desires cannot be satisfied in the divinely appointed way many resort to the most unnatural vices which in their turn bring sickness, misery, death and destruction. Because of such abominations the Canaanites were destroyed, yes, the land "spewed them out." Lev. 18:28. This is written also as a warning to us Americans. Judgment is already being visited upon us; were we not blind we could notice it. The increasing weakness of the female sex; the horrifying increase in the number of abdominal operations among women are in no small percentage due to the artificial means used to prevent pregnancy and birth. What shall become of our nation when the fathers are infected with venereal poison and the mothers are sexually ruined? Only one question applies here, is it yet possible to save our people? Are we not already lost beyond hope of rescue?

Let us listen to what a physician has to say. J. Newton Huns-

berger, M.D., expresses himself in the "Journal of the American Medical Association, 1907, as follows: "Do we understand and fully appreciate what this (the decreasing birth rate) means? It means that the curse of selfishness is sapping the very roots of life. It means the decay of spiritual ideas and the death of true patriotism. It means the breaking up of homes. It means the divorce court and the triumph of sensualism.

The responsibility which children bring inculcates self-denial and self-restraint. Thinking for others becomes a habit. Those who are childless, through their own wrong doing, do not know the pleasures of self-denial, their natures become narrow, selfish and warped and their souls atrophied. It is a truism that from large well-born families come the best citizens. They early learn self-reliance; are free from false sentiment; are tolerant and helpful to each other, and lose the egotism and self-consciousness so commonly seen in an only child. Luxury seldom enters into such homes. Satiety is unknown with its blase expression. Want may even show its gaunt form. But in spite of all this there are more manly men and womanly women found in large families and more real happiness, than is ever dreamed of by a childless couple or where a single child is surfeited, stunted and spoiled by needless luxury and display. The large families of our forefathers were big factors in the building of our nation: while we are slowly but surely drifting to the shoals of a decreasing birth-rate, on which France has already stranded her best hopes, with its selfishness, worldly prudence and sensualism for which it stands sponsor."

Let us look at this contempt for children also from the side of the Church. From this point of view the consequences are not only deplorable but even terrible. We also as a Church die out when we strive against having progeny. Only through our children is the future of the Evangelical Lutheran Church secure. Of what value is it that God has given us the pure doctrine if we have no children to whom we can leave this priceless treasure? Strangers, not only as to nationality, but also as to faith will occupy the places which should have been occupied by our Lutheran children. If we Lutherans do not provide recruits the Roman Catholic Italians, Slovaks, Croatians, Poles and the Russian Jews will. God preserve us Lutheran Germans and Scandinavians from the sad history of the Puritan Yankees in the East.

If they had not received new life through our blood they would long since have died out. But if we follow them in race suicide we must also share their fate. The well-filled school houses of the Roman Catholic Church are its hope for the future. Let us see to it that ours do not remain empty or we must surrender the field to Rome. Where the love of wife and child is forcibly suppressed it is not possible that there should spring up any love for one's fellowmen. And where there is no love for our neighbor there can be no love to God and no faith. The well being of the Church rests upon that of the home. And where the blessing of children is despised we cannot speak of a Christian home. The word applies both as a command and as a promise, "Be fruitful and multiply." All zeal for the work of the Lord is nothing but miserable hypocrisy when we trample this injunction under our feet and contemptuously despise His best blessings. Here we Evangelical Christians should be as a salt in the earth. Woe be to us if the salt have lost its savor; it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men. This word will be fulfilled as surely as the Lord is God and His Word the eternal truth.

IV. THE REMEDY.

Concerning the magnitude of the evil and the attendant dangers there can be no question. Perhaps, however, the most important question in connection herewith is, What can we do to remedy the evil? We ask first, What can the home do? First of all the home instinct must be cultivated. Especially in our large cities the home is subjected to all manner of dangers. It is hard pressed for room, poverty pinches it, the surroundings are unfavorable. But even among the wealthy the home seems to be despised and with it also the blessing of children. Where the home is crowded out by the club there the blessing of having children is also despised. In the home itself a reformation must be inaugurated if the home is to be helped. Parents should bend every energy to implant into their children love for home, and to so bring them up that home will not seem as a prison to them. Love for home and love for children are inseparably united.

Since the main reason for despising the blessing of children is to be sought in the increasing lack of the fear of God we must

bend every effort to train up our children in the way they should go; so that they may have respect for God's Word and His ordinances. We should also train our children in the virtue of contentment. The Scripture passage, "Godliness and contentment is great gain" should be re-enthroned in our homes. This means a fight against vice. Our young men and young women should be so trained as to recognize that there are nobler pleasures than those of the flesh, higher enjoyments than those of the appetites. Love for children must be more carefully nurtured; not a mere sentimental affection that rather crushes the best and noblest in them, but to love them in the Lord.

What can the Church do in this matter? It is to be feared that here we have been influenced by a false modesty. Not entirely undeserved is the censure of Dr. Walter E. Dorset in the "Journal of the American Medical Association," 1908, p. 957: "It is useless to expect ecclesiastical intervention. The clergy do not seem to be at all concerned. To furnish them with this information is to throw away your time. Few sermons are preached from the pulpit for fear of shocking the delicate feelings of a fashionably dressed congregation, and the begging of money to save the souls of the far-away heathen seems to be more important. They can not but realize the enormity of the crime from knowledge gained from the bedside of the victim of the abortionist. Yet they do not possess the moral courage to express their convictions to those to whom they are called to minister. Their education along biological lines has, I am certain, in many cases been sadly neglected." Too long the Church has kept silent, or only in a feeble voice, testified against this modern murder of children. Of course there are noble exceptions but as a rule the pastor is too modest to speak of these things in the pulpit or even privately. But when our people are not ashamed to indulge in such abominations we should not be ashamed to point out their sins. We do not have much time for an assumed modesty which in private courts the evil and in public is horrified when it is even mentioned or called by its right name. It is time that we quit mincing words and tell those who despise God's order that "a spade is a spade." It is time that we publicly, and from the pulpit tear the mask from the face of this demon that threatens to ruin our land and our Church. What avails it to beat about the bush in the matter? A woman that

will destroy her own flesh and blood in the womb is a murderess in comparison with whom Herod was an innocent. Of course, in speaking of these things from the pulpit a fitting propriety should be observed, yet the minister must use such language that all may know what is meant. To say nothing for fear of being classed as outspoken is cowardice; and the pastor that permits a false modesty to muzzle him is an unworthy craven. We do not have the opportunity to speak of these matters as has the Romish priest in the confessional, nor do we ask this opportunity. However, opportunities come to us in our pastoral visits, especially in sick visits, to earnestly admonish the erring. It were unwise to force an opportunity, as great wrong might be done an innocent pair; but often the evidence of guilt is so strong, amounting almost to proof, perhaps even the wrong is acknowledged, that proper discipline should be administered. Whoever has his eyes and ears open will find opportunities enough to speak plainly without having to bring certain ones under suspicion. And where the preaching of the law has touched the conscience there will be cases, at least here and there, where the help and advice of the pastor will be sought. It is to be regretted that the pastoral relation among our people is not as intimate as it should be. The family physician more often is asked for advice than the pastor. Nor can we hold inquisition as do the Romish priests in the confessional. But as opportunity affords and as much as lieth in us let us be faithful to our pastoral office. Our church papers can also do much in this matter. Such a festering sore that not only threatens our nation but also congregations should not, because of a false modesty, be quietly passed over. Here and there in the ecclesiastical press the sin has been referred to, but who will say our periodicals have done their full duty in this matter? Especially over against the compromising attitude of the daily press should the church papers be heard in clear and unmistakable language.

Also in our pastoral relations with the young we should be both wise and conscientious. Already in catechetical instruction the foundation should be laid for the subsequent happiness of the home and the high regard for the blessing of children. In the consideration of the 4th and 6th Commandments and the Table of Duties, opportunities enough are offered to emphasize the dignity of the home and of the marriage relation. In Bible

history we have the examples of Abraham, Hannah, Zacharias and Elizabeth as showing our youth the proper value and blessing of having children. And even if in connection with the consideration of the 5th Commandment it were not in place to speak of the murder of unborn children by the parents, yet the sacredness of human life should be so strongly emphasized that any laying hands upon it will at once be recognized as a crime of horrible proportions.

Briefly we also desire to show what the State can and should do in this question, for we are not only Christians and pastors but also citizens. How easy and superficial the State has been in this momentous matter may be seen from the following. The above mentioned Dr. Walter B. Dorset writes: "By some it may be asked, are not our laws good and sufficient as they stand? In order to answer the last question I propounded the following questions to a very able lawyer and had him prepare, by way of answer, a digest of the now existing laws in the several States and Territories.

Question 1. Is the woman herself guilty of any crime? In how many States is she, and in how many is she not?

Answer. In nine States a woman who solicits, submits to or performs an abortion on herself is guilty of a felony. In seven States the above offense is a misdemeanor, and in the remaining States and Territories, viz., thirty-five, the woman is guilty of no crime.

Question 2. What is the charge and penalty for giving away, selling or advertising abortive drugs and drugs or appliances to prevent pregnancy?

Answer. The charge is a felony in but twelve States and Territories out of fifty-one, and the penalties vary from imprisonment for from one to ten years, and in some States a fine ranging from \$20.00 to \$5000.00. In twenty States the offense is only a misdemeanor. In thirty States and Territories there are no laws on the subject." "Journal of the American Medical Association," 1908, p. 958.

The existing laws are evidently inadequate.

As good citizens it must be our concern to defend ourselves against the sin so far as this is possible by the arm of the law. Voluntary abortion is not only a crime against the person committing it, but also against society and should be punished. The

person who in any way has aided in destroying human life is a criminal and should, according to right and justice, be so adjudged. Where there are no laws against infanticide there should be, as against every other form of murder. The protection of human life is the highest duty of the State.

But where such laws already exist more strictness should be demanded in their execution. We must labor that the public conscience, which here in America is such a powerful factor, also in this matter asserts itself; that it demand that every one who aids or abets in child murder suffer the punishment due him. But to what a pass matters have come in this respect the specialist may again inform us. Dr. R. W. Holmes of Chicago expresses himself as follows: "I have had the misfortune for three years to be a sort of mentor on criminal abortion work in Chicago. During this period I have presided over a committee of the Chicago Medical Society to investigate, and to attempt to eradicate the evil. I have come to the conclusion that the public does not want, the profession does not want, the women in particular do not want, any aggressive campaign against the crime of abortion." *"Journal of American Medical Association,"* 1908, p. 960. This shows how desperate is the situation, and how earnestly we should strive to change the popular feeling in this respect. Physicians and druggists devoid of conscience must be called to account. The sale of wares intended to produce criminal abortion should be forbidden and, where engaged in, punished as a crime. We must labor with all our power that the unwillingness to bear children and the limiting of their number be looked upon as a disgrace, branded as a crime and so treated. The word of the Apostle must again come to its realization in our national life: "But she (the woman) shall be saved through her child-bearing, if they continue in faith and love and sanctification with sobriety." 1 Tim. 2:15.

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ARTICLE VII.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I. IN ENGLISH.

BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

Professor William Benton Greene, Jr., of Princeton, in the April *Bibliotheca Sacra* discusses the question "Has the Psychology of Religion Desupernaturalized Regeneration?" As is well known many modern psychologists, e. g., G. Stanley Hall, George Albert Coe, Professor James, explain so-called regeneration on purely natural, human grounds completely eliminating any special divine act. The author shows that "if modern psychology has desupernaturalized regeneration, she has overthrown Christianity herself, and that in the most modern as well as in the original and true acceptation of the term." The attempt of modern psychology proceeds on two false principles: One, the impossibility of supernatural intervention; the other, the primacy of feeling. His conclusion after a full examination of all facts and claims involved, are:

1. What modern psychology of religion has actually established is not inconsistent with the supernatural character of regeneration scripturally conceived.

2. What this psychology claims to have established in reference to regeneration, it has actually not established.

3. The method employed begins by begging the question at issue.

In the same Review there is an article on "Christ and Philosophy" by Prof. Gabriel Campbell of Hanover, N. H., who calls attention to the fact of "the indefiniteness of the recognition of Christ in the field of Philosophy." He shows how Christ is "the peerless philosopher" in every department of religious and ethical thought, far transcending all other teachers. "Amid mysteries where Socrates halted, Christ speaks with authority."

The American Journal of Theology for April contains a sym-

posium on "The Task and Method of Systematic Theology" by Dr. Warfield of the Princeton Seminary, Dr. W. A. Brown of Union, and Dr. G. B. Smith of the University of Chicago. The first declares Systematic Theology to be "in essence, an attempt to reflect in the mirror of the human consciousness the God who reveals himself in his works and Word, and as he has revealed himself." Dr. Brown compares the Christian theologian with the road-builder in a modern army. "It is his duty not only to find the best path, but to clear away the obstacles which impede progress when it is found. No doubt, religion would exist if there were no theology. The soul would find its way to God even if there were no path to point the way. But the journey would be less direct and more painful, and the rate of progress would be slower. * * The theologian is the road-builder of the Church, and upon the success with which he does his work the rate of Christian progress depends." According to Dr. Smith the task of the theologian is: 1. To become acquainted with the significant religious problems of men in the past, not only in the biblical but also in the post-biblical period of thought. He must also know the movement of the past century during which our modern world of activities and ideals has taken shape in the utterances of science and philosophy and literature. 2. To analyze the actual religious problems which confront men to-day. He must consider real, existing conditions. "To take the statement of a creed as a finished product and to compare this with a theory of science as a similar finished product in order that a way may be found by which neither may be absolutely denied means that the theologian is engaged in mere logomachy rather than in the real work of formulating vital religious convictions." 3. To construct doctrine from a positive standpoint. "The theologian will do precisely what any scientific investigator does. He will use his constructive imagination while always insisting upon the necessity for verification by appeal to the facts. 4. To defend apologetically the conclusions reached. "If in the formulation of his system the theologian has pursued the empirical system above outlined, he need not fear especial difficulty in defending it. His main task will be to show the partial and inadequate character of any philosophy of life which omits a consideration of the religious needs of man;

and to show the superiority of Christian doctrines over any rival religious theories."

The Methodist Review, for May and June, has several excellent biographical studies. Rev. E. B. Lewis writes on how John Henry Newman found a "Light amid the encircling Gloom." Professor Raschen of Lafayette College discusses Nietzsche, "The Apostle of the Superman," and Professor R. T. Stevenson, of the Ohio Wesleyan University, tells "How I found Stanley."

The most notable article in the April *Expositor* is on "Sin as a Problem of To-day," by Dr. James Orr. He presents his view under three parts: 1. The Christian doctrine of sin is that sin does not arise as part of the necessary order of the universe, but has its origin or spring in *personal will*, revolting against God and goodness. 2. This doctrine is that, originating in volition as something that *ought not to be*, sin can be defined and judged of, only by *reference to the good*,—to that of which it is the *negation*. 3. This doctrine is that sin is the outgrowth of an evil principle. Behind every evil act is the wrong act of the will *choosing* the creature rather than God; so that "in the last analysis, the essence of sin is seen to lie in the resolve of the will to make itself independent of God—to renounce or set aside God's authority, and be a law to itself; in other words in *self-will* or *egoism*." 4. "Sin, as originating in a law defending *egoism*, is a principle of *God-negation*."

In *The Hibbert Journal* for April Miss Vida D. Scudder of Wellesley College writes of "Christianity in the Socialist State." The article is well worth reading for its strong defense of Christian doctrine and its faith in the ability of Christianity to adapt itself to the new order which arises out of the conflicts of the present day. While religious authority, in the old sense, is a vanished illusion, Christianity is full of potency for the solution of grave questions. These may cause mighty struggles but this always calls out the best and noblest in faith. The greatest gift of Christianity to the world is doubtless the Image of Jesus—that personality which, "lifted up on the Cross lifted up into glory," draws all men to Himself. Two-fold conceptions have

through the Christian ages guarded and preserved that gift. On the one side there stands the doctrine of the Trinity, and on the other that of the Incarnation and of the Atonement. "It is not fantastic to believe that in the future that social thought of God, as Phillips Brooks used to say, which we call the doctrine of the Trinity, may be more closely interpreted, nay demanded, by the constitution of society and the modes of life than ever before. Why should not its message come with new force to a generation nurtured in every nerve and fibre of its mental being by social democracy?" "By the doctrine of the Trinity, Christian thought was struggling to express its superb perception that love was eternal." "Now 'incarnational' ideas would find logical place and development in the socialistic commonwealth as they have never done before. These social institutions would find the natural soil in which they and the kindred doctrine of the Holy Spirit * * could flourish." The Atonement with its cross must forever stand for sacrifice, from which even the Father-heart of God did not shrink but freely gave Himself for his children. Strange to say Miss Scudder believes that the Catholic rather than the Protestant Church will be able best to adjust itself to the new order. "The more austere Church, which singing forever its O Salutaris Hostia! steadfastly elevates the Host in benediction above a sinful world, is likely to draw to itself, with few exceptions, those for whom Christianity is not a relative theory, but a revelation of absolute though unfolding truth."

The Harvard Theological Review for April contains a notable article "Concerning Miracle" by the late Borden P. Bowne. He reminds us that the old doctrine of an absentee God as taught by Deism has disappeared before the doctrine of the Divine Immanence which is now so generally held in higher speculative circles. "Deism is dead; we must have a living and immanent God or none." "Proceeding on naturalistic and deistic assumptions, we build up the phantom of nature which petrifies man's higher life, and then we look anxiously for breaks in the natural order and pin our faith on miracles, mainly physical, as the sole identification of God's presence, if not of God's existence. But with the conception of a supernatural order we can breathe

freely in the face of the natural order, and are much less concerned about miracle in the sense of a departure from natural law." Man does many things through natural law which nature left to itself could never do. "General laws, like those of gravitation or heat or electricity, would never weave a yard of cotton or make a steam engine or drive a trolley car. These laws and forces are continually receiving specific direction and application from human volition." Surely God can do the same, without breaking His own laws. "The reign of law may be universal, but it is subordinate. * * The law of gravitation runs a water wheel but it does not make it." "Considered as a speculative proposition, the difficulty is less to establish the possibility of miracle than to prove the necessary uniformity and universality of law." It is altogether credible and also worthy of God that in the early stages of human development, He found His way more directly through signs and wonders to the human mind than is necessary to-day. "We are not in a machine world, but in God's world of persons with God, the Supreme Person, at the head."

II. IN GERMAN.

BY PROFESSOR ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, A.M., B.D.

The religious circles of Germany are being stirred at present by a real sensation. And it is with this alone that the present report on current thought must busy itself. It is the most genuine sensation the German theological world has experienced since the days of the famous Babel-Bible controversy precipitated by Delitsch. And, indeed the present controversy is not without many points of resemblance to that of nine years ago. It has come to the front with equal suddenness. The interest is fully as widespread, the debates as heated, the same weapons employed now as then, the contestants just as frequently stooping to personalities. The chief impetus to the contest now as then was given by a public lecture in Berlin, but this time without the patronizing presence of the Emperor. The position occupied by these most recent zealots lies further to the left, the change suggested for traditional thinking is more radical, than any ever proposed in all the

history of theology. But the views contended for in the present controversy, it seems certain, will not be nearly so persistent in their endurance nor by far so deep in their influence as those once maintained by Delitsch. The leader of the present movement can not be compared with Delitsch either in breadth of knowledge or in soberness of judgment. The official theologians are almost a unit in opposing him. The powers that be have frowned upon the movement. And the entire presentation is far less plausible. It seems highly improbable therefore, that this discussion will long endure or permanently divert the steady theological investigators from their accustomed lines. But for the present it has aroused such a wide-spread interest among the laity and excited such intense feeling in all quarters that the scientific theologians dare not ignore the movement nor refuse to heed the challenge it presents.

The whole discussion this time gathers about the views of Arthur Drews, professor of philosophy in the Karlsruhe Polytechnic. The controversy was precipitated by a book from his pen last fall, *Die Christusmythe*, but more especially by his missionary tour through north Germany in February for the purpose of propagating his views through popular assemblies. The position which Drews seeks so earnestly to maintain and for which he has succeeded in gaining a numerous following, especially among the proletariat, may be concisely formulated in the proposition: Jesus never lived. The historicity of Jesus is flatly denied and it is seriously argued that Christ is a myth. Drews' book, of itself and on its own merits, would have aroused no extraordinary amount of comment. But the sensational advertisement given his views by his missionating tour of popular assemblies and public debates, by the cordial co-operation of the various leagues of monists, and by the renewed agitation of related movements such as that of Jensen and that of the Bremen radicals, all have combined to arouse the public mind and to fill the air with eager questionings and earnest doubts concerning the actual historical existence of the man Jesus of Nazareth. Able and energetic opponents of this novel movement have arisen in generous numbers. Lively discussions on the subject are the order of the day. Many enthusiastic meetings of indignant protest have been held. The daily papers have opened their columns to the discussions. Books, brochures, and pamphlets are being hurried

from the press. And the best advertisement that publishers can give their older publications is to point out their bearing however slight on this question of questions.

The position maintained by Drews, the points at issue in the present controversy, and the situation begotten by the discussion, will be best understood if we take a brief historical retrospect and trace in outline the series of events leading up to the present movement. Like nearly all efforts at intellectual revolution the present movement though sudden in its appearance is none the less an outgrowth of certain historical antecedents. The rationalists of the eighteenth century had completely leveled the superhuman in the life of Jesus and had explained his miracles as purely natural events which his disciples had set in the nimbus of supernaturalism. This method of interpretation had received its death-blow from David Friederich Strauss through his *Leben Jesus* first appearing in 1835. Convinced that there could be no miracle, he sets all the Gospel narratives of supernatural occurrences to the charge of that mythopoeic fertility always manifested by the disciples of an extraordinary personality. Or as we should say to-day (since the discussion in England concerning "Jesus or Christ"), Strauss rejected the mythological Christ and retained the historical Jesus. Everything miraculous is mythical. Thus was started one of the lines which have converged in Drews' acute mythologitis.

At the same time with Strauss the mighty influence of Schliermacher was felt, breaking the stiff intellectualism of the rationalists by renewing the idea of redemption, by drawing the Person of Jesus into the center of theology again, by emphasizing the romantic influence of Jesus' personality in the complete and conscious realization of oneness between God and man, and by surrounding Jesus' influence upon humanity with a semi-mystic halo and thus making possible a reapproach to the Church's conceptions. It was these two men, differing so widely from each other, whose combined influence broke the strength of rationalism and exerted the most tenacious influence upon all nineteenth century conceptions of Jesus. The influence of Schliermacher may be noticed in two directions. In the first place, it led to efforts at the repristination of Reformation Christology. Thus we find Dorner busied with the problem of the two natures and striving to understand the incarnation as a gradual process, and

Hofmann of Erlangen announcing a new theory of the atonement and making Christ by His perfect obedience even to the cross the beginner of a new humanity which through faith in him enjoys fellowship with God. In the second place,—and this is the point of larger concern to us in this connection—Schliermacher's emphasis upon the efficacy of Jesus' personality prevented the historical figure of Nazareth from disappearing in the mists of mythology and brought it about that even to the present day representatives of the most varied persuasions have all claimed Jesus as the advocate of their respective ideals and have so depicted Him. Thus the zealous advocates of secret societies have found Jesus to be a member of a secluded sect and have painted Him as an Essene. Schopenhauer's pessimism appeared and brought in its train a predilection for Buddhism, and forthwith Jesus was represented as a self-mortifying ascetic. Richard Wagner and Friederich Naumann saw in Jesus the social reformer. Tolstoi makes Jesus an advocate of his own radical communism and emphasizes in Him the genuine Russian quality of passive submission to all evils. And now most recently the German socialist Kautsky represents the Nazarene as the leader of a communistic movement among the lower classes of Jerusalem. These few instances will serve to show the subjectivism of many modern conceptions of Jesus and will help us to understand Drews' utter lack of historical objectivity in his presentation.

From Strauss also two lines of influence went out and became factors in all subsequent logic concerning Jesus even to this most recent effort at his complete mythification. The one, represented by such men as Bruno Bauer and Feuerbach, basing upon Strauss' historical criticism of the Gospel records, even surpassed their master in this respect and Bauer was finally led to the complete denial of the historicity of Jesus, Christianity and the primitive Christian literature being explained as the product of the Graeco-Roman world of the second century,—a tendency of speculation which *mutatis mutandis* has been revived in our own century and must assuredly be regarded as one of the evident elements in the Drews' movement. The other line of influence emanating from Strauss grows out of the fact that in the final chapter of his *Leben Jesu* he opened the way for the full application of Hegel's philosophy to the question concerning the *significance*

of the historical Jesus. The result is that in wide circles of modern thought the fact of his existence without being denied is yet reduced to a minimum in its import for theology and religion, being made only a diving-board for the depths of Christological speculation or else merely one instance illustrating the self-realization in history of the all-important *idea*. As the idea can not be exhausted in one solitary sample the uniqueness of Christ's redemptory person disappears. Many pious souls have been firmly persuaded that the principle of Christianity, its ethico-religious content, is absolutely independent of the facts of history, nor must the religious consciousness await at each turn the verdict of the imperious science of historical criticism. This historical idealism of Hegel first applied to the life of Jesus by Strauss has come down to us through v. Hartmann's *Philosophy of the Unconscious* and of his system the foremost living representative is Arthur Drews.

One more element has entered into the combination to produce Drews' *Christusmythe*. It is the influence of the theological school of comparative religions. The inordinate tendency to explain away the miraculous elements in the life of Christ on the ground that they are purely legendary conceptions derived from other religious systems has here been followed to its utmost consequences and has brought forth its mature fruit in the denial of both Jesus and Christ. All these lines of influence, all these tendencies of thought, have converged to produce the present wild conception in the mind of the philosopher Drews. We pass to a brief sketch of his argument.

Drews sets himself the task of explaining the origin of Christianity not as based upon a personality who founded it, but as an outgrowth of a hither-Asiatic-Hindu myth, a syncretistic product of Judaism and Adonis-worship. The effort is not altogether original. We have pointed out that Bruno Bauer already in his day denied the historicity of Jesus; similar efforts though sporadic and isolated have not been entirely wanting in modern times. Kalthoff of Bremen had maintained that Jesus was only an idea to which the oppressed classes of the Roman Empire in their unspeakable misery had attached themselves. The American mathematician Benjamin Smith, had written a book on "The Pre-Christian Jesus." Robertson, the Englishman, Bournouf, the Frenchman, and a few others, had followed related lines of

thought. And now Drews has simply compiled and popularized what these men had gathered and disposed.

In his first chapter, "The Pre-Christian Jesus," he strives to show that Jesus was an imaginary god worshipped by a Jewish sect of Old Testament times. He points out that according to Zech. 3 and 6:9-15 Joshua (=Jesus) is the name of the messiah who is to lead the Jews back again to their own land. But he overlooks the fact that this Joshua is a well-accredited historical personage, the hereditary high priest, divinely commissioned to head the youthful Jewish Church in Jerusalem in company with the admittedly historical Zerubbabel whose character partakes of more messianic qualities than Joshua's. He points to an ancient hymn preserved by Hippolytus in which the heavenly Jesus is celebrated. But he fails to see that the name Jesus occurring in this hymn as we now have it is most probably the work of the Christian gnostics, whose habit it was to apply ancient Babylonian mythology to the historical Jesus of the Church. He supposes that the Therapeutae and the Essenes must have worshipped a god by the name of Jesus, since the word Jesus means therapeutes, physician, healer, redeemer. But this is pure baseless supposition, for while the members of these sects regarded themselves as soul-physicians there is not the least evidence that they had any cult-god whatever. He observes that an old Paris document on magic calls the god of the Hebrews Jesus. But Deissmann and Harnack have long since shown that our oldest manuscript copy of this document was written since the beginning of the Christian era and therefore under Christian influence. He argues that Jesus of Nazareth is nothing more than Jesus of the Nazarites, a sect which existed before Christ and knew nothing of Christ, and which takes its name not from the place Nazareth, purely a geographical fiction according to Cheyne, but from the divine name *nasaraya*, meaning guardian, redeemer, savior, (=Jesus). Moreover, says Drews, closely related to the Nazarites in doctrine and life were the Essenes or Jessenes, followers of the "branch of the root of Jesse" (=Jesus). But these interesting speculations rest partly upon a mistake of Epiphanius in identifying the Therapeutae of Philo with the primitive Christians and partly upon a most defective etymology, and in no case do they support the theory of a pre-Christian worship of Jesus. And finally Drews points out cer-

tain New Testament traces of such a worship as *e. g.*, in Acts 18:25 the Alexandrian Apollos is found teaching the doctrines concerning Jesus before he had learned of Christianity. But Apollos' teaching rested upon the "baptism of John" and presupposed the historical Jesus as miracle-worker and healer.

To have shown the weakness of the argument for a pre-Christian Jesus-cult is to have removed the chief foundation-stone for the contention against the historicity of Jesus Christ. For Drews' argument that there was also a pre-Christian conception of Messiah (*ὁ χριστός*) will be pretty generally granted and in itself does not affect the existence of Jesus. But when he grounds that conception in mythology and then makes the application to the New Testament traditions concerning Jesus the fallacies of his argument are many. Through an utter disregard of the laws of philology, through long journeys of broad shallow research into the realms of mythology and ethnic religions he has brought together the most incongruous elements and forced them into genetic relationship. By a long series of forced derivations, interesting combinations, and arbitrary applications, he resolves into myths the chief features of the historical Messiah. A few examples. The New Testament account of the mocking of Jesus is the Christian version of the feast of Purim and this in turn is the Jewish way of observing the Persian feast of the Beardless. The symbol of the cross is derived from the boring-staff of the Vedic fire-priests and gave rise to the Christian fiction of Jesus' crucifixion. The names of Jesus' parents are easily identified with those of the parents of Adonis. John the Baptist [German, *Johannes*] is the Babylonian water-god Oannes, and perhaps the same as Kadmiel (=forerunner of God) who also was decapitated. The references to Jesus as the Lamb of God are readily understood by changing the old Christian expression *Agnus Dei* to its original *Agni Deus* and the connection with the Hindu god Agni becomes evident at once. And so forth. The mere statement of some of these arguments in English suffices to show their weakness. Nevertheless Drews comes to the assured conclusion that Jesus Christ "is only another form for one of the local deities or patron gods of south-western Asia."

But how then shall we explain the historical origin of the Christian religion, the adaptation of all these myths into their present form and system? This question Drews answers in his

next chapter, "The Christian Jesus": these legendary mythological elements were introduced into the Jewish religion and super-imposed upon the Jewish world by the gnostic Paul. Paul knows no human historical Jesus but only an idealistic personage, a heavenly theanthropic being who is merely a comprehensive expression of the idealistic totality of humanity and who at the same time represents a specific impersonation of the whole race idealized. The genesis of this Pauline religion Drews naively imagines as follows: The attempt had been made in Antioch to syncretize the worship of Adonis with the Jewish religion by representing to the Jews that the Messiah for whom they wait is the very "Lord" whose resurrection the entire populace of Antioch celebrated on Adonis' day: the Lord lives! The Gospel of the Messiah was therefore originally nothing else than this judaized and spiritualized worship of Adonis. But then came Paul to Antioch. Through his early training he was thoroughly imbued with the idea of a coming Messiah. At first he was shocked at the Antiochian syncretism. Then he suddenly perceived that the new religion like his own was founded upon the idea of the self-sacrifice of a god for the world, an idea quite familiar to him from the popular belief and from the Jewish prophets. "Might it not be possible," he asked himself, "that the Messiah has *already* appeared, even as the Essenes and other worshippers of Jesus maintain, and has already by his ignominious death and glorious resurrection realized righteousness for all? Why should I still await him at some future time?" The moment that this occurred to Paul the Christian religion sprang into existence! Just as Harnack holds that the birth-moment of our worship of the divine Christ is the instant when the self-deluded Peter had persuaded himself: "I have seen the Lord!" so Drews bases Christianity and the story of an historical Jesus upon this fanciful psychological construction of Paul the gnostic.

This preposterous misconception is an outgrowth partly of certain faulty representations of liberal theologians on the question of "Jesus and Paul" (*vide* LUTH. QUART., XL., p. 141 sqq.) and partly of a failure to understand the distinction between Greek-philosophical thinking and Jewish-historical thinking. The peculiar sort of psychological hallucination and empty auto-suggestion here attributed to Paul would have been impossible for a Jew. Such ahistorical philosophizing or mythologizing is the

peculiarity of the Greek spirit. The Jew on the other hand connects all his philosophy with the characters of history and transposes all his mythology, if so be, into real history. The Greeks have no such thing as a philosophy of history, whereas all Jewish speculation takes its start from historical events. Paul's theology therefore must have rested upon actual facts however meager his knowledge of those facts may have been. And Drews by calling our attention to Paul and basing so largely upon him has laid bare the very weakest spot in his whole argument. It seems utterly incredible that anyone should accept the authenticity of the Pauline epistles as Drews does and yet deny the historicity of Jesus. For the writings of Paul constitute the strongest evidence that Jesus lived. This fact Drews' opponents have been quick to point out in arguments numerous and articles lengthy.

The further argumentations of our layman and philosopher we need not reproduce. In the section on "The Evangelical Jesus," he proceeds as above to show how each of the individual characteristics and words and incidents attributed to Jesus in the Synoptics grew out of the Pauline gospel as he conceives it. The closing chapter on "The Religious Problem of the Present," sets forth the philosophy of religion quite in harmony with the spirit of the master, Eduard v. Hartmann: the world-process must be understood as a divine passion in the slow and painful evolving of humanity until the religious consciousness of man has overcome the bounds of its finitude and triumphed over all evil.

It is easy to understand that in a country under the influence of Christian civilization the stoutest opposition would be offered to the popularization of these pernicious views so deadly to Christian faith and morality. Large audiences have greeted Drews at his various appearances. Many have concurred with his conclusions and showered him with loud and long applause. These come from among the atheists of Haeckel's "*Monisten-Bund*," from the swelling ranks of the socialists and other enemies of Christianity, and from the numerous and various elements of opposition to the official Church. The Christian theologians have from the start felt themselves severely handicapped in the public debates. They have felt that popular assemblies

composed largely of the unlearned and those unskilled in any science are no proper tribunal for deciding such weighty questions of historical investigation. Such audiences do not detect Drews' dilettanteism; they can not follow the reasoning of the more penetrative scientists, and yet the popular applause of the evening is held to determine the issue. Most Christian scholars have been content therefore to confute the new movement through the agency of the press and the literature on the subject bulks large.

And yet at none of the many places where Drews has spoken has he gone uncontradicted. When he appeared at Darmstadt the theological professors from Giessen confronted him and Gunkel, who has been unusually active in the opposition, administered a most humiliating defeat compelling Drews to admit many errors. Professor Hauck of Leipzig came forth and addressed a large audience that crowded the auditorium maximum of the university. Professor Juelicker of Marburg for the first time in twenty-two years made a public address outside the walls of the university in opposition to the *Gilgamesh-Epos* of Jensen. The Germanist von der Hagen publishes an interesting satire upon the "*Christusmythe*," in which by the same sort of etymology and analogies not more far-fetched he proves with the same degree of conclusiveness that Martin Luther never existed! We believe that Napoleon and Roosevelt would even more readily respond to such treatment and disappear in mythology.

The present discussion naturally involves also such questions as that concerning the essence of religion, of myth, and their mutual relation, and especially the question as to the relation between faith and the facts of history. Without doubt one of the most abiding wholesome effects of this controversy will be to emphasize the difficulty confronting liberal theologians,—a difficulty often pointed out by the modern-positive Gruetzmacher and others: namely how in the five years that elapsed between Jesus' death and Paul's conversion could the poor Rabbi and itinerant preacher be set in the Messianic nimbus and be made a God? The "impress of his moral personality" will not suffice to account for the transformation. We must either deny the historicity of Jesus as Drews does or else deny the authenticity of Paul's letters. But the liberal theologians will deny neither.

The hiatus remains. There is only one explanation that really explains: There was no such transformation; Jesus was and is the Christ from the beginning.

Gettysburg. Pa.

ARTICLE VII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA CO. OBERLIN, OHIO.

Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism. By Harold M. Wiener, M.A., LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Pp. 239.

The vast majority of books on Biblical Criticism have been written by men who were professional historians, philologists or theologians, and who approached the subject from one of these standpoints. It is an encouraging sign of the growth of interest in the study of the Bible among the people that we have an increasing number of such books by men whose main interests are in other lines. Lawyers seem to be especially prominent among these men. The author of the book under consideration is a London Barrister-at-Law who has written, beside the present work, a volume on "Studies in Biblical Law," and a number of articles on Old Testament subjects, mainly legal, for various theological magazines. He promises to continue the series in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

The writer's legal training is apparent in the manner in which he goes about his subject. Five of the six chapters contained in the *Essays* are reprints from the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. They are examinations of certain points contained in the *Oxford Hexateuch* by Carpenter and Harford Battersby, and the volume on *Numbers* by Gray in the *International Critical Commentary*, with references to the volume on *Deuteronomy* by Driver in the same series. The writer of course advocates the Mosaic authorship but he does not attempt to give a developed argument for it, nor even an answer to the general position taken. His method is that of a lawyer who attempts to meet his opponent's arguments, not by a counter argument, but by discrediting his opponent's witnesses, showing discrepancies, inconsistencies and contradictions in the testimony.

The first chapter deals with the use of the divine names Jehovah and Elohim, and the separation of documents J and E in the *Oxford Hexateuch*. An examination of the separation made by Kautsch and by Kent show that a number of the objections made by Wiener do not apply to them. Wiener then shows by use of the Versions, principally the Septuagint, and of the manuscript variations, that there is some authority for about any reading as to the names in most of the passages. The conclusion drawn is that no dependence can be placed on the use of the di-

vine names as a criterion for difference of source. The same argument is used largely, that the text is not sufficiently certain as we have it at present to warrant any theory that depends on a close textual criticism. Mr. Wiener thinks that there is a great need for textual criticism.

The second, third and fourth chapters deal with a number of points connected with the exodus and wanderings in the wilderness. Mr. Wiener contends that the stay at Kadesh-Barnea was quite short and that about thirty-eight years were consumed in the circuit of the land of Edom, and makes a slight rearrangement of the text in *Numbers* to bear out this view. The fifth chapter deals with the numbers given for the census. The author seems to believe that the numbers as stated in our present text are entirely unreliable, but denies that the critics have improved matters in the least.

These five chapters are not very easy to follow without having the books under the author's consideration before the reader. In many respects they take the nature of a running comment on the text. There is a certain vein of sarcastic reference to those who do not agree with Mr. Wiener that at times interferes with a judicial consideration of the subject matter. This, however, seems to be a necessary fault in treating the subject of Higher Criticism, and this book has much less of it than many another.

The sixth chapter treats of the first three chapters of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*. Here Mr. Wiener has a contribution to offer, and an interpretation to make, that it seems is original with him. At least it is new to the reviewer, and no reference is given to any other presentation. Shortly stated it is, that "From the days of Moses onwards there was a triple system of sacrifice, customary individual offerings, statutory individual offerings, statutory national offerings." p. 219. There were two distinct kinds of altar, one a lay altar of earth or unhewn stones, the other a horned altar of metal. The statutory offerings had to be offered at an altar of the latter kind. The first mentioned offerings might be offered by a layman at a lay altar. In other words, any Israelite, at any time and at any place, might offer a sacrifice as a matter of worship, and the law in speaking of one altar and forbidding sacrifice except in one place did not refer to such offerings but only to the statutory offerings, or those offered on behalf of the nation or as a result of some violation of the law.

Secondly he makes a distinction between substantive law and law of procedure. "Three main groups of laws are to be distinguished in the *Pentateuch*. First, there is law designed, as appears from its style, to be memorized. Secondly, we have *Deuteronomy*, the bulk of which was delivered in the first instance in the form of speeches. This was intended for septennial reading to the whole people, and style and contents are for

the most part colored by these facts. Thirdly we have the bulk of P, matters of procedure at the religious capital, details relating to the organization of the priestly tribe, matters in which the assistance of a specially trained class would have to be invoked." p. 216. "Matters internal to the priesthood were not originally intended for general publication." p. 218. "The conduct of Ezra in reading sections of the law (other than *Deuteronomy*) to the whole people proceeds from a fundamentally different theory from that expressed in the law itself. The bulk of P was professedly only intended to reach the people mediately, through the teaching of the priests: and Ezra's innovation was in direct conflict with the original intention of the legislation." "It turns out that P was not in common literary use before Ezra, but also that P was never intended for common literary use: and its subsequent influence on the literature merely shows that a late age misunderstood the Mosaic provisions. Similarly *Deuteronomy* was interpreted as forbidding all sacrifice save at Jerusalem: though when its provisions are carefully scrutinized it appears they bear no such meaning." How he arrives at his "P" is uncertain. He asserts the whole *Pentateuch* to be of Mosaic authorship and the division into four documents to be illusory.

The cover of the book bears the note, "Coup de Grace to the Wellhausen Critics of the Pentateuch." In some quarters there seems to be a tendency to acclaim with welcome anything that bears on its face a sign of the traditional viewpoint of the Bible, without further scrutiny. A theory that involves an entire misunderstanding of a fundamental point by the Jewish church, and also gives support to the idea that parts of the Bible were not intended for the people but were to be esoteric and received only through the priesthood, is not one to be received without examination.

The book has two very full and valuable indices, one of "the principal passages referred to," and the other of the "subjects" discussed.

F. H. CLUTZ.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY. PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The Sixteenth Century Conflict. A Study of the Life of Dr. Martin Luther in Dialogue. By Alice Belmer Nickles. Paper bound, pp. 43. Price 30 cents.

A Study of St. Paul, in Dialogue. By the same author. Paper bound, pp. 75. Price 50 cents.

In these two pamphlets we have a commendable effort to set

forth the life and times, and something also of the experiences and work of the great Reformer and the great Apostle to the Gentiles, in dialogue and song. They are evidently intended to be used by Sunday Schools and Young People's Societies, and other organizations in the churches for public entertainments, and to take the place of the silly, sentimental, and often very objectionable stuff sometimes used on such occasions. The work is very well done, and with proper staging we have no doubt that these dialogues would not only be very instructive but also very interesting and entertaining. We are glad to commend them for such use.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

The Lutheran Catechist, a Companion Book to "The Lutheran Pastor." By G. H. Gerberding, D.D., Professor of Practical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Chicago, pp. 302. Price \$1.50 net.

We have examined this new volume from the pen of Dr. Gerberding with great interest and satisfaction. Like all his previous books, it is written in a plain, simple and forceful style, is always true to the Lutheran faith and cultus, and is eminently sane and sensible in the views presented.

This is also a book that was greatly needed in our church. It seems a little strange that though as a church we have always been strongly committed to the use of the catechism in the training of the young, and though we have so large and so rich a literature on the subject in the German and Scandinavian languages, we have hitherto had no full and satisfactory text-book on Catechetics in the English language. This lack will be well met by this book of Dr. Gerberding's.

The treatment given to the subject is quite full and is always clear and suggestive. This book will be well adapted, therefore, for use both in the class-room in our theological seminaries and for private reading and study by either students or pastors.

The discussion is divided into five "Parts" or main divisions.

"Part I" is "Introductory" and treats of "The Catechist's Office and Work," his "Activity," his "Study of the Catechism," and their "Relation to Church-growth."

"Part II" is "Historical and Critical." and traces the work of the catechist in Bible times and up to the time of the Reformation.

"Part III" continues the same general subject, but deals especially with catechisms. giving special attention to Luther's Large and Small Catechisms.

"Part IV" is "Theoretical and Practical" and covers the whole

ground of the catechist's qualifications for his work, his gathering of a class, his work before and with the class, his decision as to who shall be confirmed, and his care of them after confirmation. This "Part" which takes up nearly one-third of the volume will no doubt prove of special value to pastors.

"Part V" consists of "Helpful Hints on the Five Parts of the Catechism" and will also prove very helpful and suggestive.

Occasionally the discussion is marred by the use of commonplace expressions that border on slang and scarcely comport with the dignity of the subject. As an example of this take the following advice to pastors in dealing with the matter of public examinations and what really constitutes fitness for confirmation, "Make it clear and drive it home that one may be well informed, sane and sound in intellect and yet be far from the kingdom of God. Rub it in over and over again that without heart fitness, without experience, life and love, all else is worthless, sounding brass and tinkling cymbal," (page 196). Where the general excellence is so high it may seem ungracious to call attention to so small a defect, but the nearer perfection in style a writer attains the more conspicuous and the more offensive even small blemishes become.

The mechanical work of the book is of a high order, and a copious index adds much to its value.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO. BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

The German Element in the United States, with Special Reference to its Political, Moral, Social and Educational Influence. By Albert Barnhardt Faust. Portraits, Maps and Illustrations. In two volumes—Vol. I, pp. XVI, 591; Vol. II, pp. XIII, 605. Price \$7.50 net.

It is hardly safe for one with any German blood in his veins to attempt a review of this sympathetic and masterly account of the Germanic factor in American life. His enthusiasm for his Germanic origin and his sense of gratitude to Professor Faust for his admirable work are likely to disqualify him for a strictly critical review. It is told of the German Kaiser, that on one occasion, on one of his men-of-war he injured one of his fingers, and that, holding aloft his wounded and bleeding member, he announced to the admiring crew which surrounded him, "There goes my last drop of English blood." So, any one who reads this epoch-making and monumental tribute of Professor Faust to the German blood in general, and to its American outworkings in particular, will be tempted to wish for the elimination of any non-German elements in his make-up.

We doubt if any racial factor in our composite American life has been so accurately and admirably traced and presented as does this contribution in behalf of the German factor. It is a veritable apotheosis of the German, as he has conducted himself in manifold and influential ways in a new country. And it is especially gratifying to have this glorification of the German emanate from a New England publisher, not far removed from Plymouth Rock itself. At last, an American appreciation of the true value of the German immigrant is available. Too long has this been ignored or neglected by American historians. But now, with these incontestable facts presented to the American people, the German will come into his own in this land to which he has contributed such an inestimable force for the common good. If, as Professor Faust estimates, "To-day more than a quarter of the population of the United States is of German blood," it was surely high time for the presentation given in this thoroughgoing and scholarly work.

We cannot go into details in this review, delightful as such a form of presentation would be.

The comprehensive scope of the undertaking is shown by the headings of the different chapters which we give herewith:

The Earliest Germans in the Anglo-American Colonies; The First Permanent German Settlement, at Germantown; Increase in German Immigration in the Eighteenth Century, and its Causes; The First Exodus; The Germans in Pennsylvania; The Early Germans in North and South Carolina During the Eighteenth Century; German Settlements Before the Revolution in Georgia and in New England; The Location of the German Settlers Before 1775; The Germans as Patriots and Soldiers During the War of the Revolution; The Winning of the West; The German Settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee; The Settlements in the Ohio Valley; The Advance of the Frontier Line to the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and Toward the Northwest; The Northwest, the Southwest and the Far West; The German Element in the Wars of the United States; A Summary View of the German Immigrations of the Nineteenth Century; An Estimate of the Number of Persons of German Blood in the Population of the United States; The Influence of the Germans in the Material Development of the Country; in Agriculture and Dependent Manufactures; in Technical Branches; in Other Manufactures; Political Influence of the German Element in the United States; The German Influence on Education in the United States; Cultural and Moral Influences of the German Element.

The publishers, the Houghton Mifflin Company, very properly state in their prospectus, "Professor Faust has spent the last ten years in collecting material and in the preparation of this work. The first draft of the manuscript won the prize of \$3000 offered

by Mrs. Conrad Seipp of Chicago for the best essay on the subject. In this way Professor Faust secured the attention and won the enthusiasm of a large number of German educators of the country. Through them and through their belief in the importance of this work, the publishers are led to believe that among eighteen million Germans in the United States there should be a genuine demand for these volumes, which are lavishly illustrated with maps, portraits of eminent German-Americans, facsimiles of important documents, historical scenes, and so forth. Furthermore, as this work is the first to deal exhaustively with this important subject, it will be indispensable to historical scholars and of great value and interest to the general reader, aside from its wide appeal to readers of German birth."

From a Lutheran standpoint, we regret that the statistics used by the author, on page 414 of the second volume, showing the strength of the seven leading Protestant denominations, were not more recent. He gives the Lutherans the fourth place, with 1,231,000 communicants. It is to the credit of this vigorous Germanic branch of Protestantism that it has now advanced to third place, and has gained nearly 1,000,000 communicants since the date of the statistics given by Professor Faust.

These volumes well illustrate the growing appreciation of what the German has contributed to America. In a recent speech by the Hon. Seth Low this same truth was strikingly expressed as follows: "In 1893 the eminent German physicist, Von Helmholtz, came to America to attend the World's Fair at Chicago. While he was my guest in the City of New York, Alexander Graham Bell, a Scotchman by birth, an American by adoption, came all the way from Halifax in order to say to Von Helmholtz, as he did in my presence, that the invention of the telephone was made possible by the investigations into the laws of sound which had been made by Von Helmholtz in his German laboratory. The telephone, therefore, invented under the Stars and Stripes, by a man born under the English flag, and made possible by the researches of a German, illustrates happily how these three nations, by working together, can serve mankind."

An exceedingly valuable feature of the work of Professor Faust is the Bibliography of works on the Germans in the United States. The titles given cover over eighty pages, and yet the author says "The following pages do not aim to exhaust the list of books, monographs and articles that treat of the subject." But we suspect that it will be many a day before a more comprehensive, yet detailed; enthusiastic, yet scholarly; scientific, yet picturesque description of the history of the German element in the United States will appear. Every American of German origin is profoundly indebted to Professor Albert Bernhardt

Faust of Cornell University for this altogether worthy treatment of a very large theme.

FREDERICK G. GOTWALD.

SILVER, BURDETTE & CO. NEW YORK, BOSTON AND CHICAGO.

Sociology. Its Simpler Teachings and Applications. By James Quayle Dealey, Ph.D., Professor of Social and Political Science at Brown University, pp. 403. Price \$1.50.

Though written to be used as a college text-book, this volume is more than an ordinary text-book. It is really a valuable contribution to the "science" of sociology. It presents a very full study of the principles of social development and their application to the many perplexing problems which are met by all who are seeking to improve society, to make this world a better place to live in, and those who live in it better men and women.

An admirable feature of the discussion is the fact that the author has no "fad" or pet theory for the reorganization of society, no "panacea" with which he expects to cure all the ills of society out of hand.

On the contrary he discredits and repudiates all such attempts, and sets himself to the task of presenting "a discussion of social betterment which does not lead up to a socialistic conclusion." His point of view and his optimistic faith in the future are indicated in these words from the preface, "If a constructive policy can be worked out which will take into account social forces, conditions and possibilities, then society may safely undertake far-reaching schemes for social betterment. If science can tunnel mountains, erect great cathedrals, multiply inventions, and banish diseases, there is no inherent reason why society through science should not be able to free itself gradually from the handicap of social evils, and to accelerate its rate of progress."

The discussion is divided into two "Parts." "Part One" deals with "The Simpler Teachings of Sociology." This part has eight chapters covering 164 pages. These chapters discuss the "underlying laws and principles" which must be kept in mind in all our efforts to improve society.

"Part Two" deals with "Applications of Sociological Teachings to Some Social Problems" in eleven chapters covering 174 pages. Some of the sub-titles in this part are, "Social Progress," "Racial Factors in Social Progress," "Economic Factors in Social Progress," "Education as a Factor in Social Progress," "The Elimination of Social Evils," &c.

We cordially commend this book to the careful reading and study of all who are interested in the social problems of the day. The most serious criticism to which the book lies open, from the

standpoint of the Christian reader, is the small place given in the discussion to religion which has certainly been one of the chief factors in the development of society hitherto, and the fact that the author seems to know nothing of a revealed religion, and makes absolutely no reference to the Gospel of Christ, with its doctrines of sin and regeneration, as a "factor" in "social progress," or in the "elimination of social evils." This may not be due to any lack of faith in Christ and Christianity on the part of the author, but rather to his effort to make the discussion "scientific." But we doubt whether any discussion can be really called scientific which leaves out of the count one of the chief factors in the history and development of the race, and especially of those nations which have reached the highest forms of society known to history thus far.

The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the addition of a very full "Bibliography" of the subject which covers nearly twenty pages and embraces over 200 authors and more than 300 titles, nearly all of them in the English language. The index is also an admirable feature, being unusually full, covering 22 pages with double columns to each page.

The printing and binding are in the excellent style which characterizes all the work of the publishers.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

TESTIMONY PUBLISHING CO. 808 LASALLE AVE., CHICAGO, ILL.

The Fundamentals. A Testimony to the Truth. Vol. I. Compliments of Two Christian Laymen. A Pamphlet, pp. 126.

In calling attention to this admirable little pamphlet, we can do no better than to quote entire the "Foreword" which is printed on the page opposite the table of "Contents." It is as follows:

"This book is the first of a series which will be published and sent to every pastor, evangelist, missionary, theological professor, theological student, Sunday School superintendent, Y.M.C.A. and Y. W. C. A. secretary in the English speaking world, so far as the addresses of all these can be obtained. Two intelligent, consecrated Christian laymen bear the expense, because they believe that the time has come when a new statement of the fundamentals of Christianity should be made. Their earnest desire is that you will carefully read it and pass the truth on to others."

The pamphlet contains essays, or articles, by such men as Prof. James Orr, D.D., on *The Virgin Birth of Christ*; Dr. Benjamin B. Warfield on *The Deity of Christ*; Dr. G. Campbell Morgan on *The Purposes of the Incarnation*; Dr. R. A. Torrey on *The Personality and Deity of the Holy Ghost*; Dr. Arthur T.

Pierson on *The Proof of the Living God*; Canon Hague of London, Ontario, on the *History of Higher Criticism*, and Howard A. Kelly, M.D., *A Personal Testimony*. All of these essays are valuable. Some of them are notably strong and convincing. Perhaps the most remarkable of them all is the *Personal Testimony* by Dr. Kelly. Dr. Kelly, of Baltimore, Md., has long been recognized as one of the leading physicians and surgeons, not only of this country but of the world. In this brief *Testimony* he tells how, to use his own words, "I have, within the past twenty years of my life, come out of uncertainty and doubt into a faith which is an absolute dominating conviction of the truth and about which I have not the shadow of a doubt."

If you belong to any of the classes of Christian workers mentioned in the Foreword quoted above, and have not received this pamphlet, send in your name to the publishers and it will be sent to you without any cost.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

Y. M. C. A. PRESS. NEW YORK.

Taking Men Alive. Studies in the Principles and Practice of Individual Soul-Winning. By Charles Gallaudet Trumbull. Pp. 199.

This is a book to be studied, but it furnishes fascinating reading as well. It is based upon Dr. H. Clay Trumbull's "Individual Work for Individuals." This latter was not written as a text-book, but "is chiefly a record of actual experiences, grouped by chronological periods in the life of its writer, and intended primarily to show what God is willing to do for one who seeks to improve daily opportunities of extending His invitation." The finely wrought purpose of "Taking Men Alive" is to draw from these recorded experiences the working principles that should guide individuals in their efforts to bring individuals to Christ.

The need of a "life-resolve" is strongly emphasized, and illustrated by the impressive circumstances which led Dr. Trumbull, when a young man, to determine: "Whenever I am justified in choosing my subject of conversation with another, the theme of themes shall have prominence between us, so that I may learn his need, and, if possible, meet it." The author states three distinctive truths at the outset: "1. The work of individual soul-winning is the greatest work that God permits men to do. 2. It was Christ's own preferred method of work, as it is His preferred method for us to-day. For it is always the most effective way of working. 3. It is the hardest work in the world to do, and it always will be the hardest." In brief chapters of unfailing interest there follows then a discussion of the Christian

worker's equipment, his manner of approach, and his encouragements. That the author's general principles for individual work are correctly drawn from the record of experiences narrated in "Individual Work for Individuals" is shown by the full and frequent quotations clearly illustrating and corroborating the principles stated. The book, from first to last, is written in such an attractive style, that one is tempted to run right through for the simple pleasure of reading; but the material is so carefully systematized and so admirably adapted to study that the reader is held in check at the beginning and end of each chapter for serious thought. The "Preparatory Thoughts and Questions" at the beginning, and the "Topics and Questions" at the end of each chapter greatly aid while they compel such study. One who is determined not to undertake "individual work for individuals" will have his resolution greatly shaken by a study of this book; while all who would be active in "taking men alive" will find much of practical helpfulness for this greatest and hardest and most obligatory of all Christian duties.

H. ANSTADT.

GENERAL COUNCIL PUBLISHING HOUSE.— PHILADELPHIA.

The Catechist's Handbook, being an Exposition of Luther's Small Catechism for Laymen, based on the *Katechismus* of Dr. Theodor Kaftan. By the Rev. John Horine. Pp. 229. Price 90 cents.

This is another valuable contribution to the catechetical literature of our church in the English language. In the Preface we are informed that "the contents of the book was originally a series of lectures prepared in 1906 and dictated to the students of the Theological Seminary of the United Synod in the South, Mt. Pleasant, S. C."

The author does not claim for his work any great originality. He says frankly, "In the preparation of this book the author let down his bucket into many catechetical wells, and kept no record of the particular well from which this or that bucketful was drawn. However, Kaftan's *Katechismus* has been the chief source of supply, and is, indeed, in substance, incorporated almost bodily in the book. Luther's Large Catechism is the next largest contributor of material."

This does not detract at all from the value of the work. As it is said further in the Preface, "this Handbook is not to be placed in the hands of the catechumens. It is simply what its name implies—a manual for the Catechist in his preparation for the lesson."

Used in this way this Handbook will be of great benefit to pastors, and especially to the younger men in the ministry who often find the work of catechisation peculiarly difficult. It consists largely of a running comment on, or exposition of, Luther's explanation of the several parts of the Catechism, and is full of rich truth and suggestions.

We believe, however, that the older catechumens, and our laity generally, might also find great benefit from the reading and study of this manual. The language is everywhere simple, the definitions are clear and illuminating, and the views presented are always sound and scriptural. We know of no other book that would give to the members of our churches a better or more satisfactory statement of the teaching of our church on the great fundamental truths of the Bible as they are summarized in the five parts of Luther's Small Catechism.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

EATON & MAINS. NEW YORK.

Charms of the Bible. By Jesse Bowman Young, D.D., Litt.D.
Pp. 255. Price \$1.00 net.

The Book of books must have charms many and great to make it the most popular of all publications and year after year repeatedly and increasingly the far-ahead leader of the market's "best sellers." Even our often hurried reading and too listless attention surprises us with revelations of beauty and strength and delight in the inspired Word. Here and there the sparkle of some gem will catch the eye and compel the admiration of the most desultory reader; but while he enjoys the beauty, he may have poor appreciation of the value of the precious truth that has been flashed upon his mind. This book is a grand display of the priceless gems, set in attractive array and estimated with intelligent appreciation, searched out of the inexhaustible mine of the divine Word. "To call forth in fresh array the beauties of the Scripture; to illustrate by pertinent citations and in systematic order those features of the Book which invest it with perennial attractiveness; and to indicate anew the main reasons which underlie its supremacy in the world—these are the aims of this volume." The small limits of this review prevent even a mention of all the "Charms of the Bible" the author describes. With impressive explanation and always with clearly illustrative examples from the Scripture, he displays such charms as its world-wide message, variety of contents, literary excellence, poetic forms, biographical attractions; and then its more personal charms in its grip on the conscience, its promises "precious and exceeding great," its ennobling ideals, its supreme Teacher and

perfect Example, and its exalted and inspiring hope. Though we may have noted more or less deeply any or all of these charms singly in our study of the Bible, it cannot but strengthen our appreciation of the Word to view them all as they are so carefully gathered up and attractively presented by the author of this excellent book. And in these days, when so much is published in hostile criticism by those who allow the opaque hardness of the self-opinioned intellect to obscure the clearer, warmer vision of the heart, it is good to read these earnest, appreciative words of one whose satisfied faith enables him to see the real "Charms of the Bible."

H. ANSTADT.

LIPPENCOTT. PHILADELPHIA.

Christian Unity in Effort. By Frank J. Firth. Pp. ii, 273.

The Laymen's Movement is one of the most hopeful signs of religion to-day, and it may be said that individual initiative among laymen, that leads one of them to publish a book on the subject of Christian Unity indicates very laudable zeal. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether this book will be widely read. A layman successful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, does not achieve success in book-making without the scholarly gift. A book must have certain taking qualities in order to catch the reader. It must be said that this book, excellent in spirit, has no literary charm, no scholarly marks.

D. W. WOODS.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY. NEW YORK.

Studies in Religion and Theology. The Church: In Idea and in History. By A. M. Fairbairn, M.D. Cloth. Pp. xxxii, 635. Price \$3.50 net.

This book is composed chiefly of addresses and essays which have been prepared by the eminent author during the past quarter of a century. The matter is somewhat ingeniously grouped about the idea of the Church. The true Church in the mind of the author is, of course, free and presbyterial in character. He ably vindicates this conception over against that of a State Church and of a Church episcopally governed. He justifies Puritanism, and condemns Sacerdotalism. The latter, he holds, limits the universality of God's grace by denying the priesthood of all believers, and conditions the grace of God on imperfect man. He deals with the unrest of the age, the social problems and the decay of Church attendance. The relation of Christ to his Church

is set forth in an interesting manner. The life and labors of John and of Paul are discussed at length, as being "fair examples of the material Jesus used to build the Church of."

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Gospel and the Modern Man. Pp. xiii, 327. \$1.50 net.

Is the Christian religion out-worn? An obsolete theory of life belonging to the past like the Ptolemaic theory of the universe? Have we outgrown it? Have the new philosophies, the new sciences, evolutionary and otherwise, given us such an understanding of life as to compel us to relegate the New Testament to the attic, among the out-of-date text-books, like Greenleaf's arithmetic and the New England Primer? This clear little book is a reply to such questions.

Whatever Prof. Matthews writes is sure of a wide reading, especially by those interested in fresh and fearless discussions of religious questions. Everybody knows that he is no more afraid of the blatant scoffer than he is of the timid stickler for orthodox opinions. Being very much a modern man himself, clever in his use of the methods employed by present-day scholars, fully and sincerely in sympathy with progress of every sort, he commands our confidence at once. He is an expert in his chosen field speaking as one who has authority and not as an ecclesiastic.

The book is divided into two parts, the first being a discussion of "The Problem of the Gospel," the second showing "The Reasonableness of the Gospel." One will go far before finding a clearer statement in so small compass of the cosmogony of the world to which Jesus first presented the Gospel. Here, too, Dr. Matthews shows us that the men of our Lord's day were psychologically and in many other respects, much like the aggressive, restless, self-confident men of to-day. They were men who did things, rather ruthless in their treatment of competitors, believing in great combinations of capital, organizers, masters of large and varied interests, men of will and of action. He shows us, also, the fundamental differences which mark off our own conditions, philosophical, scientific, political (and what not?) from the conditions prevailing then. All this is very interesting reading. It is in itself a sure evidence that the author knows the spirit of our age, is a live man of to-day.

Presenting a discussion of the content of the Gospel Dr. Matthews gives us the central truth which has its eternal elements, vital and necessary for every age. Then he takes up the question of the reasonableness of the Gospel. If a preacher is looking for material for sermons he will find here, not so much the actual stuff which he can use. He will find something much

better. He will find himself thinking, his mind will go running off upon many a field, out will come his note book, and by the time he has finished the chapter on "The Forgiveness of Sin," the longest in the book, he will have enough sermon stuff of first rate quality to last him for several weeks, that is, if he knows how to seize upon a living thought and make it bring forth fruit. For this is a very live book, bringing us face to face with to-day's needs and showing us how to present the Gospel to the modern man in telling and appealing ways.

These extracts will give one an idea of the thought in this little book. "It is a bitter thing to be defeated in the conflict for personal advantage. Among the most pitiful sights of life is the man who once succeeded, but who now has failed. To meet such a one whom you have known in former years in all the strength of authority born of position and of wealth, and find him now submerged in the consciousness of defeat, is to enter into one of the tragedies of this strange maelstrom we call civilization. But there is a defeat more bitter than that of the man who has suffered defeat in his struggle for wealth, or fame, or control over human lives. It is the defeat that overtakes a man because he has put self aside and has striven to help others; who has dared believe humanity something better than it turned out to be; and has striven to make men realize their own spiritual possibilities. For such a life to find itself rejected, misinterpreted, abused, betrayed, condemned as criminal, is to strain faith to the utmost. And Jesus bore this and more. For in one black moment on the cross he shared also in that despair which those feel who, seeing hope and friends forsake them, think God Himself unfaithful.

The Gospel in teaching that God is Love not only faces this tragic aspect of life, but it makes it the basis of the boldest hope the human mind has ever reached. The Gospel dares believe God is love because Jesus was defeated. It insists that it is wiser to act on the conviction that love is the divine life and bear the consequent buffetings of outrageous fortune, than to sacrifice that faith to immediate success. The faith of Jesus grows contagious. We also dare make the adventure of such trust in God." This extract was taken from the chapter on "The Love of the God of Law." It reminds one of Browning's phrase, "All's Love but all's Law." Other chapters will be found mines of wealth. One is stimulated by the reading of this book; one believes more strongly in the Gospel; one hopes for the Gospel triumphant; one comes to feel that, whatever may happen,

"God's in His heaven
All's right with the world."

The book is bound in Macmillan's usual careful way and is splendidly indexed.

D. W. WOODS.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. NEW YORK.

History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff. Volume v, Part ii. The Middle Ages from Boniface viii, 1294 to the Protestant Reformation 1 and 17. By David S. Schaff, D.D., Professor of Church History in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny. Cloth. Pp. xi, 795. Price net \$3.25.

For forty years before his death in 1893 Philip Schaff stood in the front rank of Church historians. His six large volumes on the History of the Christian Church are his monument. In numbering the volumes he left a gap between iv and vi to be filled in by a volume on the Middle Ages. He did not live to accomplish his purpose. His son, however, took up the work and completed it in two volumes, numbered Vol. v, Part i, and Vol. v, Part ii. Truly the mantle of the father fell upon the son, who has put the Church under lasting obligation in carrying out so successfully a great task, thus giving us in eight volumes a complete history of the Christian Church from its beginning to the close of the Reformation. We express the earnest hope that Dr. Schaff may give us next a volume on the Post-Reformation Period, including the history of doctrine in the formation of creeds—a matter which his eminent father has set forth in his great work, "The Creeds of Christendom."

The present volume is an admirable piece of work. The author has preserved the characteristics of his father in presenting accurate information in lucid language, making what might otherwise be dry "as interesting as a novel." He has a good idea of proportion and perspective. The period discussed is not as well known or understood by the average reader as the striking period of the Reformation. But it must be evident that a true view of the latter finds its ground in a clear knowledge of the former. The author gives us a striking picture of the struggles of the Church and of the great personalities who were the chief factors in the providence of God in preparing the way for a reviewed Christianity.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Sermons, Epistles, and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets from the Beginning of the Assyrian Period to the End of the Maccabean Struggle. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D., Wool-

sey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University. With Maps and Chronological Charts. (1910, pp. xxv, 516). Price \$2.75 net.

This work forms the third volume in a series of six, entitled "The Student's Old Testament, Logically and Chronologically arranged and Translated," all by Professor Kent. This volume is complete in itself.

The "Student's Old Testament" may be regarded as an effort at reconstruction upon the basis of modern historical and literary criticism. Its aim is rather practical than theoretical. It claims to be the result of years of preparation modified by the generous criticisms and suggestions of many biblical scholars and practical teachers and tempered by the applied tests of university and Bible classes. Its chief object is to cull from the cumbersome technical volumes of the specialists the more practical results of modern biblical research and to place them within easy command of the studious reader. This is accomplished in lucid form by means of a new translation, a logical and chronological classification of Old Testament writings, and a literary analysis of the text with instructions and notes. The arrangement of Old Testament literature as it exists in our English Bible,—an arrangement for which the Septuagint translators are chiefly responsible—is still further simplified for the logical Occidental mind by grouping together those writings which have the same general theme, aim, and literary form, and then arranging them within each group in chronological order. Thus the first volume of the series is entitled "Narratives and Beginnings of Hebrew History." The second, "Historical and Biographical Narratives," begins with the united monarchy and brings the history down to the end of the Old Testament period. Now comes this third volume, on the prophets. The law, the psalms, and the proverbs, are each to constitute a volume.

The most manifest advantage of this series as a whole is that it furnishes in brief compass and in systematic form a survey of the claims of modern historical critics. Conservative biblical students, like the positive theologians have always felt themselves heavily handicapped in making a sweeping defense of their position by the chaos of views among their opponents. Orr made large capital of this self-contradiction and lack of uniformity among the critics. The radical critics, moreover, would gladly throw off the epithets "negative," "destructive," with all that they connote, and would show the constructive possibilities in their "results." Efforts at systematization and reconstruction therefore have not been entirely wanting in recent years among German scholars. But this work is the first comprehensive effort in English at summarizing the critical positions of Old Tes-

tament scholars. It is of value, therefore to the ordinary Bible student because it offers an opportunity, for the first time, of ascertaining just what those positions are.

This volume of the series classifies the prophets under six heads: those of the Assyrian period, of Judah's decline, of the exile, of the Persian period, of the Greek and Maccabean period, and messianic and eschatological prophecies. In the lengthy table of contents two parallel columns indicate the "original" teachings of each prophet and relegate to a "secondary" place the voluminous additions of later editors and scribes. This distinction is also clearly indicated in the text. The General Introduction of 59 pages contains among other things a good account of "the evolution of the prophet," a clear and concise statement of the moderately liberal views concerning "the historical development of Israel's messianic ideals," and a worthy comment on "the literary form of the Old Testament prophecies." The translations are original, accurate, vivid, dignified, reproducing as nearly as possible the spirit and beauty of the original. Where the content and structure of the individual prophecies are deemed highly poetic, the fact is indicated by the form in which they are printed. The logical thought of each sermon is clearly indicated by the literary analysis. The obscurities of the text are illuminated by extensive foot-notes presenting the historical background and a rich variety of critical, geographical, and archeological data. The text is accompanied by excellent chronological charts of biblical and contemporary history. The appendix offers a very complete and convenient bibliography of several hundred books and numerous articles in encyclopedias and magazines. The typographical execution throughout is most excellent.

Professor Kent in his theological position inclines decidedly towards the left. But among the liberals he must be reckoned as fairly conservative. His task in this volume was one of compilation rather than one of original investigation, and while he does not follow the lead of any one of the radical German schools with the abandon so often seen in American scholars, the present work shows more of the influence of the old Wellhausen-Stade theory than of the more recent pan-Babylonian theory of Winckler and his associates. But in his bibliography he does not fail to make large mention of such positive German scholars as Klostermann, Kittle, Köenig, and Oreilli. These men would protest loudly against Kent's classification of many of his "secondary" passages. But he seems to have made a greater effort than usual to guard against doubtful conjectures and subjective impositions and the result tends more than previous publications from his pen to conserve the foundations of Christian faith. His attitude throughout is reverential. In fact the general tendency

of this series reminds us in a measure of the efforts of Alfred Jeremias to turn into positive channels the results of the Winckler school. Those who believe at all in the right and necessity of constructive criticism while maintaining the conservative position will find many concessions to their position in this book from the liberal camp. We commend it to the mature student who is about to make a literary study of the Old Testament.

ABDEL ROSS WENTZ.

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ARTICLE I.

THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE.

BY REV. HUBER G. BUEHLER, M.A., LITT.D.

Isa. 40:8.—The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God shall stand forever.

I wish to speak of the Bible in some of its literary aspects. By the literary study of the Bible I mean, of course, something very different from the study of the Bible as a manual of sacred history, presenting the annals of the People of Israel and recording the founding of the Christian church; and also something very different from the study of the Bible as a text-book of theology and morals, setting forth truths about God and man's relation to Him. By the literary study of the Bible I mean the study of the Bible as *literature*; and for a discussion of this subject, the obvious starting point is the question: What do we mean by literature?

The answer to this question may be approached in two different ways. On the one hand we may approach it after the manner of Professor Winchester, of Wesleyan University, who in his admirable book on the "Principles of Literary Criticism" undertakes to ascertain what are the essential and intrinsic qualities that distinguish literature from writing that is not literature; and who tells us as the result of his inquiry, in a definition that has been widely circulated, that *literature is writing which has permanent power to appeal to the emotions*. On the other hand,

we may answer the question, What do we mean by literature? after the manner of Professor Moulton, of the University of Chicago, who, approaching the subject from the outside as it were, says that *literature is made up of dramas, histories, stories, poems, philosophical works and the like*. Either of these descriptions of literature is, I think, a suggestive starting point for a talk about the literary study of the Bible; and in this paper I propose that, instead of choosing between them, we use each of them in turn. In the first part of our discussion, then, we shall consider the Bible as possessing certain qualities, called literary, that give it permanent power to appeal to the emotions; in the second part we shall consider the Bible as made up of dramas, histories, stories, poems and the like.

I. *The Bible as possessing certain qualities, called literary, that give it permanent power to appeal to the emotions.* There is not room here to explain very fully what is meant by saying that the distinctive mark of literature is its permanent power of appealing to the emotions; but this description of literature will probably have little meaning to some unless we take a moment for illustration, however brief. For example, we do not call an almanac literature; we do not call the news items in the daily paper literature. Why not? Manifestly because we are to throw these away tomorrow. Literature must have *permanent value*. But what gives a book *permanent value*? To have permanent value a book must clearly contain something that will always be of value or interest to men; but that is not enough. A textbook of geography or a school-book on algebra contains matter of permanent value, yet we never think of either of them as literature. Nay more, a treatise on theology, though it sets forth in systematic manner the sublime truths about God as revealed in the Bible, is not necessarily literature; whereas Waller's graceful songs about garlands, girls, and locks of hair, Burns' lines "To a Mouse," and the Bible itself, are unquestionably literature. This leads us to see that literature consists, not of books that contain matter of permanent interest, but of books that *are* themselves of permanent interest. The facts and truths in Frye's Geography and Wentworth's Algebra are indeed of permanent value; but the books themselves are not. They will be superseded by other geographies and algebras which will restate the same facts and truths in other ways. The truths will

live; the books will die. Even the treatise on theology will perish utterly unless it have something more than truth to give it life, just as Newton's treatise on gravitation is no longer read. No book is literature if it is liable to be superseded next year or next century by another book, saying the same things and saying them better. The book itself must have permanence. And what is the essential difference between a school geography and a poem by Waller or Burns which gives permanence to the one and denies it to the other? It is just this: the geography, as a whole, appeals to the intellect alone, while the poem appeals to far more than intellect. By its depth of feeling, by its imagination, by its thought, by its form, the poem stirs our souls, it clutches our hearts every time we read it, that is, it permanently appeals to our emotions. And this we shall find to be the touchstone of all literature really worthy of the name, whether it be Shakespeare's Hamlet, Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech, or Kipling's Recessional. This is why Waller's graceful nothings said or sung to his Sacharissa live forever as literature, while Newton's explanation of the laws of gravitation is remembered only as scientific writing.

Turning now to the Bible, and asking ourselves to what extent, entirely apart from its value as history, and entirely apart from its importance as a revelation of God, it possesses this literary quality of permanent power of appealing to our emotions, of clutching our hearts by its feeling, its thought, its imagination, its way of putting things, what do we find? To readers of these pages it is hardly necessary to answer, or to cite illustrations. To state the definitions is to win the case. Passages proving that the Bible is literature, as thus defined, and literature of the grandest quality, will rush to memory by the score. The story of Creation—is there any danger that any restatement of astronomical or geological truth, however explicit, accurate, and up-to-date, will ever supersede that? As an exposition of what we have come to call scientific facts, the first chapters of Genesis leave much to be desired; but as a piece of writing setting forth God's part in creation, they are inimitable and nothing will ever take their place. And the story of Cain and Abel—what a powerful picture of murder that is in a few bold strokes, giving in a few lines motive, heinousness, retribution. Will it be done away with by the account of a murder which we may read in

tomorrow's papers? Nay, has it ever been approached even by Poe's famous "Murders in the Rue Morgue?" Or the account of the offering of Isaac:

"And Isaac spake unto Abraham his fother, and said, My father: and he said, Here am I, my son. And he said, Behold the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?"

Who can read those words unmoved, entirely apart from the religious meaning of the story? Or the narrative of the birth and childhood of Jesus—will that ever be improved by any re-statement of the great facts? Would we tolerate any other account? Nay, we resent the attempt of any modern writer to put it in his own words. The folly of knowing the right and doing it not is, alas, ever present with us; but we shall never have any statement of it superior to the peroration of the Sermon on the Mount, contrasting the man who built upon the sand with the man who built on the rock. Love, thank God, is as old as human hearts and as new as the sunrise; but shall we ever have an essay on it of such permanent power to hold the attention of men as the 13th Chapter of I Corinthians? The innocence and sweetness of childhood is one of the perennial beauties of earth; we shall never have a literary expression of it to supplant the four sentences beginning, "They brought unto Him little children." All who teach school know how persistent is laziness; and they also know that we shall never have a sermon against it to displace the little sonnet of two stanzas:

"Go to the ant, thou Sluggard;
Consider her ways, and be wise:
Which having no chief,
Overseer,
Or ruler,
Provideth her meat in the summer,
And gathereth her food in the harvest.

How long wilt thou sleep, O Sluggard?

When wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?

‘Yet a little sleep

A little slumber,

A little folding of the hands to sleep’

So shalt thy poverty come as a robber,

And thy want as an armed man!”

Burke’s celebrated description of the desolation of Carnatic, which when he uttered it made men shudder and women faint, has not set aside Isaiah’s picture of a land utterly destroyed:

“Their slain shall be cast out, and the stink of their carcasses shall come up, and the mountains shall be melted with their blood. From generation to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it for ever and ever. But the pelican and the porcupine shall possess it; and the owl and the raven shall dwell therein: they shall call the nobles thereof to the Kingdom, but none shall be there; and all her princes shall be nothing. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and thistles in the fortresses thereof: and it shall be an habitation of jackals, a court for ostriches. And the wild beasts of the desert shall meet with the wolves, and the satyr shall go to his fellow; yea, the night monster shall settle there, and shall find her a place of rest. There shall the arrowsnake make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow: yea, there shall the kites be gathered, every one with her mate.”

In force, imaginary, diction, music, the advantage is all with Isaiah. In the last two or three thousand years, we have had many short stories told us; but we have never had any with more permanent power to appeal to our feelings than the story of Joseph and the story of Esther. Why is it that men, women and children never weary of these stories? Do you think it is because of any historical value or ethical importance? No, it is because, as mere stories, they have power to move the heart; it is because they are the most artistically beautiful stories in all languages; it is because they are literature and that of the greatest. The fact is, if it is true, as I think it is, that literature is

writing which by its feeling, thought, imagination, and form has permanent power to grip the human soul, then the Bible is largely made up of some of the most glorious literature ever penned. Every emotion is comprised in the mighty gamut. Is it friendship? Behold the love of David for Jonathan. Is it righteous anger? Consider the imprecations of the Psalmist. Is it exultation? Read the Song of Deborah. Is it reverence, joy, hope, faith, grief, pity? Each one finds a tongue, and speaks in a style of noble naturalness the expressive language of the heart.

II. If we turn now to Professor Moulton's description of *literature as made up of dramas, histories, stories, poems, and the like*, we find the Bible responding equally well to that test of great literature. Nearly all forms of literature are found within its pages. It has the outward appearance of a single book: in reality it is a whole library of poetry and prose, history and biography, tragedy and love song, philosophy and oratory. From most readers this interesting fact has long been hidden by the peculiar way in which the Bible is ordinarily printed. In our ordinary Bibles, there are no titles to essays or poems, nor anything to mark where one poem or discourse ends and another begins; and in King James' version, there is not even a distinction made between poetry and prose. It is much as if one of our Church papers or our school readers were printed "solid" without any headings, and cut up into numbered verses and chapters of equal length. Hence the Bible has become to most readers not literature, but simply a storehouse of pious and neatly numbered texts. The literary form and structure of the contents of our beloved book have been restored for us by Professor Moulton, of Chicago, in his "Modern Readers' Bible;" and anyone who would really pursue the literary study of the Bible must make himself acquainted with Professor Moulton's work. Just now I must content myself in this part of our discussion with mentioning some of the different types of literature represented in Scripture, and citing examples.

A large portion of the Bible, as we all know, is History: the History of the People of Israel as presented by themselves, and the History of the Founding of the Church of Christ. Scattered through the historical books, with nothing to distinguish them in the ordinary version from the historic context, is a long

series of stories of surpassing interest. Such are the beautiful love story of Isaac and Rebecca; the splendid narrative of Elijah's Triumph over the Prophets of Baal, which I never read without a thrill of admiration for its literary power; the melting tale of the Raising of Lazarus; the lovely pastoral of the Prodigal Son; the majestic parable of the Wheat and the Tares, the mere language of which affects me like the melodious thunder of an organ; the fascinating account of Paul at Athens; the graphic and thrilling record of the Mob at Ephesus; and the entire story of how Paul was brought to preach Christianity at Rome, beginning with his Arrest at Jerusalem. Even the shortest form of story, called anecdote, has its best examples in the Bible; e. g., the incident of Jesus' answer to those who asked him if it was lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar. Is any finer anecdote recorded in Boswell's Johnson? And just as we have anecdotes, so we have fables, like those of Aesop, of which this is one:

"The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them, and they said unto the olive tree, *Reign thou over us.* But the olive tree said unto them, *Should I leave my fatness, wherewith by me they honor God and man, and go to wave to and fro over the trees?* And the trees said unto the fig tree, *Come, thou, and reign over us.* But the fig tree said unto them, *Should I leave my sweetness, and my good fruit, and go to wave to and fro over the trees?* And the trees said unto the vine, *Come, thou, and reign over us.* And the vine said unto them, *Should I leave my wine, which cheereth God and man, and go to wave to and fro over the trees?* Then said all the trees unto the bramble, *Come, thou, and reign over us.* And the bramble said unto the trees, *If in truth ye anoint me king over you then come and put your trust in my shadow."*

These stories, anecdotes and fables are easily recognized for what they are—stories of artistic skill, anecdotes and fables of point and power. It is not so well known that Deuteronomy is made up of the Orations and Songs of Moses, constituting his Farewell to the People of Israel and corresponding to the Farewell Addresses of our own Washington, and that Deuteronomy and the discourses of the prophets are Oratory in the fullest sense of

the term and of the highest quality. I have already compared a passage from Isaiah with one from Burke. Philosophy as a department of literature is represented in the Bible in several forms. First we have the short Proverb, as,

“He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty;
And he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.”

Another example:

“Boast not thyself of tomorrow;
For thou knowest not what a day may bring forth.”

What could be more charming than the following epigram of five lines:

“Weary not thyself to be rich;
Cease from thine own wisdom;
Wilt thou set thine eyes upon that which is not?
For riches certainly make themselves wings,
Like an eagle that flieth toward heaven.”

The famous essays of Lord Bacon are matched in form and surpassed in content by numerous Essays in our Bible. I have already spoken of Paul’s Essay on Love. Here is one of several Essays on the Tongue, from the Apocrypha:

“The stroke of a whip maketh a mark in the flesh; but the stroke of a tongue will break bones. Many have fallen by the edge of the sword; yet not so many as they that have fallen because of the tongue. Happy is he that is sheltered from it, that hath not passed through the wrath thereof: that hath not drawn its yoke, and hath not been bound with its bands. For the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of brass.”

Those short poems by Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth and others, each complete in fourteen lines, and called sonnets, have in the Bible their counterpart in purpose and substance, though

not in form. I have already quoted the sonnet on the Sluggard; here is another Biblical sonnet:

“There be three things which are too wonderful for me,
Yea, four which I know not.
The way of an an Eagle in the air;
The way of a Serpent upon a rock;
The way of a Ship in the winds of the sea;
And the way of a Man with a Maid.”

More worthy of note is the beautiful Biblical poem on Wisdom, beginning.

“My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord.”

Of the kind of poetry called Lyric, which is the outburst of the thought and feeling of the poet's own soul, there are hundreds of examples in the Bible which have never been equalled elsewhere as mere Lyric poetry. Such are the Psalms of David, and I mention for special literary excellence the twenty-third, beginning:

“The Lord is my shepherd”—

the nineteenth,

“Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations”—

the ninety-first,

“He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty”—

the one hundred and third,

“Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless His holy name”—

the one hundred and nineteenth; and the one hundred and thirty-ninth,

“O Lord thou hast searched me and known me.”

Beside these majestic outpourings of the soul of the Poet King of Israel, Heber's “Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty” and Newman's “Lead Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom” are feeble hymns. Equally fine in its literary quality, but altogether different in its thought and purpose, is the “Bride's Reminiscence” in the “Song of Solomon,” which inevitably suggests a comparison with Tennyson's “Maud”:

“The voice of my beloved ! behold he cometh,
Leaping upon the mountains,
Skipping upon the hills.
My beloved is like a roe or a young hart
Behold he standeth behind our wall,
He looketh in at the windows,
He sheweth himself through the lattice.
My beloved spake, and said unto me:
‘Rise up, my love, my fair one,
And come away.

For lo, the winter is past,
The rain is over and gone;
The flowers appear on the earth;
The time of the singing of birds is come;
And the voice of the turtle is heard in our land;
The fig tree ripeneth her green figs,
And the vines are in blossom,
They give forth their fragrance.
Arise, my love, my fair one,
And come away.’ ”

And the grandest lyric without exception in the whole range of literature is the outburst of the Creator's joy in his creation, which in the book of Job is put into the mouth of God himself, beginning:

“Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?”

Even dramatic literature is represented in the Bible. As to substance, the resemblance between the tragic career of Saul and the career of Shakespeare's Macbeth has often been pointed out; and as to dramatic form, the love songs of Solomon, much prophecy, and the Book of Job—one of the world's literary marvels—are all made up of the conversation of different characters, which was the nearest approach to a drama that was possible among the Hebrews, who had no theatre.

And now, does some one say, What of it all? Is not the Bible, first of all, most important of all, a revelation of what to believe and how to live? If it contains a revelation from God, what difference does it make to any but scholars whether it is literature or not? To which I reply, Most assuredly the Bible is, first and foremost, a divine book, revealing God and our duty, a veritable lamp to our feet; but the point which I wish to make here is that the theological and ethical value of the Bible are so closely related to its literary character, that if we lose sight of its literary structure we are in grave danger of misinterpreting its words about God and life. An illustration or two will, I hope, make this plain.

Suppose, for example, that some evening, desiring to feed our spiritual life by spiritually appropriating some word about God, we sit down and open our Bibles at the Book of Job, to read a few verses at random, and our eye falls upon the scornful words,

“Is it any pleasure to the Almighty that thou art righteous?”

or this despondent cry,

“I am a brother to dragons and a companion to owls.”

Is it not manifest that if we undertake to extract any theological or ethical meaning from these words, we shall be grievously misled if we do not remember that the Book of Job is dramatic in form; that is, that it consists, for the most part, of a poetical conversation between different characters, and that it makes a

great difference whether the verse we are studying was spoken by Zophar the Naamathite, Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, or by Jehovah himself, who at the end of the book appears and says of these three, "Ye have not spoken of me the thing that was right." The writer of the Book of Job and God who inspired him are no more to be held responsible for the mistaken sentiments of Bildad the Shuhite than Shakespeare is responsible for the villainous lies of his Iago.

One more illustration of the practical value of the study of the Bible as literature. You all know how much faith has stumbled and fallen before the words:

"Then spake Joshua, and he said: Sun, stand thou still upon Gideon: and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon. And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed until Israel had avenged herself on her enemies."

In our ordinary Bibles this celebrated passage is printed with nothing to distinguish it from the historical account that precedes and follows it; and readers commonly suppose that it is meant to be taken as literally as the sober annals which surround it. But a study of the original shows that this passage is not prose, but poetry; that it is probably a quotation from an ancient ballad, used to enliven the narrative; that it is the imaginative language of a poet, who wished to state strongly the total destruction that overtook Israel's enemies between sunrise and sunset; and that it is no more to be taken literally than David's poetic declaration that

"The hills melted like wax before the presence of the Lord,"
that

"There went up a smoke out of his nostrils,"
or that

"God shall shoot at them with an arrow."
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ARTICLE II.

THE INSPIRATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

BY REV. J. F. POLLOCK, D.D.

The title of this paper seems ambitious; but I take it for want of a better, and do not expect to be able to treat it either exhaustively or adequately. I may, however, be able to suggest some lines of thought which will be useful to us all. We all believe that Christianity is the final revelation of God's grace and mercy to sinful men, and we are in duty bound to understand it as well as possible, and herald it as widely as we can to our fellow men. What is Christianity? It "is something simple and sublime; it means one thing and one thing only: Eternal life in the midst of time, and by the strength and under the eyes of God." (What is Christianity by Prof. Harnack, p. 8). This certainly is a grand aim, and to realize that Christianity means this, to experience this eternal life in every situation in which mortals might be placed, would sanctify all life's sorrows, consecrate its difficulties and limitations, and gild with glory the roughest paths we might be called to tread in this world.

But the question arises, Where is this eternal life to be found? And here we can all agree with the great German scholar and say: "The material for our answer is to be found in Jesus Christ and His Gospel. (p. 10.)" "Back to Christ," has been the cry of some of those dissatisfied with the historic creeds of the Church, and who pant for some "New Theology"; and there is a certain reasonableness in the cry, although it implies that the Evangelical Church has departed from Christ and is preaching another gospel. Perhaps there is some truth in the implication, and it will do us all good to make sure of our position, and sit only at His feet.

But here the question arises, How can we get back to Christ? What reliable information have we concerning Him? "Sixty years ago David Frederick Strauss thought he had almost entirely destroyed the historical credibility not only of the fourth but also of the first three Gospels as well. The historical criti-

cism of two generations has succeeded in restoring that credibility in its main outlines. (p. 22).” This is something to be grateful for, and we ought to make the most of the admission of one of the foremost of historical critics of the present time. In another work he made the admission that historical criticism tends to establish the traditional dates of the early Christian writers, and thus puts out of court the Tübingen Hypothesis.

And it seems to me that this is one of the weak places of our present day Christianity. Candidates for the ministry, when examined for licensure or ordination are inclined to found Christianity on a theory concerning the influences under which the Gospels were written rather than upon the truth of the Gospels. This is new doctrine, and in laying over-much stress on the inspiration of the Gospels we leave the granite foundations of truth for a theory concerning a psychological problem which is insoluble.

Dr. John Dick was certainly no broad churchman itching after a “New Theology” when he wrote: “It is not absolutely necessary to inquire, whether the sacred writers were supernaturally qualified for composing the records of revelation; because if their veracity and competence are ascertained, the facts which they attest furnish satisfactory evidence of the divine origin of Christianity. (Lectures on Theology, Vol. I, p. 112).” Quotations of a like import might be multiplied, and hence the importance of the admission that the Gospels are credible in their main outlines, Strauss’ contention that the Gospels contain a very great deal that is mythical, has not been borne out..... It is almost exclusively in the account of Jesus’ childhood, and there only sparingly that a mythical touch can be traced. (What is Christianity, p. 26).”

Now, much that Prof. Harnack finds in the Gospels, is not new. It has been found long before his day, that Jesus is a great teacher, that His teachings may be grouped under three heads: Firstly, the kingdom of God and its coming. Secondly, God the Father and the infinite value of the human soul. Thirdly, the higher righteousness and the commandment of love. (p. 55).” But it may be asked, is this the Gospel? Is the Gospel in its essence a message that can be communicated, and handed down from generation to generation? Many who deem themselves evangelical seem to think so, and the parable of the

Prodigal Son is largely overworked in its misinterpretation. It is supposed to teach a general fatherhood of God, and a love for man as His child, that is ready and anxious to receive him into His favor upon repentance, without any atonement, or spiritual regeneration. All that is needed for men who have gone into a far country, when they come to a starving situation is to come back to the plenty in the Father's House, and have the glad robes put on them and the fatted calf killed for them. And too frequently the most successful evangelist, so far as drawing a crowd is concerned, is the quodam prize-fighter, gambler or drunkard, and who can thrill and polute the ears and minds of youth with tales of former wickedness.

Thus in practice, the Gospel is too frequently regarded as a message about the Father and His love, and that which the German professor proclaims openly is tacitly assumed, viz: "The Gospel as Jesus proclaimed it has to do with the Father only, and not with the Son. (p. 154)." This is put in italics, and is followed with the declaration: "This is a no paradox, nor on the other hand, is it rationalism, but the simple fact as the evangelists give it. (p. 154)."

Now it is just here that issue must be joined with Professor Harnack if we wish to believe and preach the Gospel. And I would say that the person of Jesus is the whole foundation of the Gospel, as the evangelists give it, and outside of faith in Jesus as one with the Father, we have no good ground for any belief in the Fatherhood of God other than that which is founded on rational arguments, no good ground for belief in the kingdom of God and its coming in the triple meaning given to it by Prof. Harnack: "Firstly, it is something supernatural, a gift from above, not a product of ordinary life. Secondly, it is purely a religious blessing, the inner link with the living God. Thirdly, it is the most important experience that a man can have, that on which everything else depends; it permeates and dominates his whole existence, because sin is forgiven and misery banished. (p. 67)."

All this is delightfully true and worthy of our acceptance, if the Jesus who teaches it is a supernatural person, one with the Father, but if He is not one with the Father, if "This feeling, praying, working, struggling, and suffering individual is a man who in the face of His God also associates Himself with other

men (p. 136),” How can He give to the world the final revelation of the kingdom of God as a supernatural kingdom? For this is just the difference between the Old and the New Testaments. The Old Testament reveals the kingdom of God, but not in its final form. The New Testament reveals it in its final form, because the revealer is one with the Father, and in His person is the final revelation of God to men.

And so if the Gospels are credible in their main outlines, apart from the question of their inspiration, and our ability to understand the psychology of it, we must maintain, that the Gospel is not primarily, what Jesus taught of the kingdom of God, nor of the Fatherhood of God, nor of the obligation of the higher righteousness and the commandment of love, but it is what the Gospels teach, and what they report Jesus as teaching concerning Himself.

The angelic announcement to the shepherds was: “Fear not; for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour which is Christ the Lord.” (Luke 2:10-11). Here the careful student will notice that the birth of a child is announced, and this child is described by three titles, two of which in the Old Testament, Saviour and Lord, are designations only of Jehovah, and the title Christ or Messiah designates one who is one with Jehovah. “The proclamation of redemption contained in the Old Testament runs on two parallel lines: the one has its termination in the Anointed of Jehovah, who rules over all nations out of Zion, in the other is Jehovah Himself, sitting above the Cherubim, to whom the whole earth pays homage. These two lines do not meet in the Old Testament; it is the history of the fulfilment of prophecy that first makes it clear that the Parousia of the anointed One, and the Parousia of Jahre are one and the same.” (Delitzsch on the Psalms, American Ed., Vol. I, p. 91). Hence in the forefront of the Gospel of Luke we have the Gospel defined as consisting in the birth of a child who is a divine being, one with Jehovah.

Professor Harnack might find some “mythical touches” in this angelic announcement, but however that might be, it contains a statement of what was believed in the Apostolic Church concerning the essential character of the Gospel as consisting in the manifestations of God in our nature. But our author does not

allege any mythical touches in the report of the mission and preaching of John the Baptist, but makes considerable use of that report in his work. Now what was the burden of the Baptist's message. It was not merely the nearness of the kingdom of God and the consequent need of a change of mind on the part of the Jewish people generally, but it was the coming of a greater than the Baptist, one whose sandals he regarded himself as unworthy to untie. Of Him he said: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire." (Luke 3:16). The late Prof. Bruce, and some others, regard this as meaning a judgment, the Holy Spirit being regarded, not as a personal being, the executive of the Godhead, but as "a stormy wind of judgment: the fire destroys what the wind leaves." (Expositor's Grk. Test. sub. Matt. 3:11). But under Luke 3:16 the same author admits, "It is, however, not impossible that Luke read an evangelic sense into John's words." But there is no need of reading a sense into John's message. His preaching was a Gospel. It held forth to men a blessing. The baptism was with a view to the forgiveness of sins, and judgment was only for those who refused the requisite change of mind. And if Jesus is to be greater than the Baptist, the greatness, or mightiness, must be with reference to securing this change of mind and this forgiveness of sins. And then it is to be borne in mind that while *pneuma* might mean wind, in the Old Testament the phrase Holy Spirit is indicative of a blessing which brings a man into peace and fellowship with God. (Ps. 51:11, Is. 63:10-11).

Now if Jesus baptizes with the Holy Spirit, then He must be a divine person, and as the Fall involved a withdrawal of the Holy Spirit as a Spirit of fellowship with God from man, then a baptism with the Holy Spirit and with fire would signify a restoration of that fellowship, and a sanctification of the nature of him who was baptized. And hence the burden of John's preaching is the coming of that One Mightier than Himself because the resources of the Godhead belong to His person.

Prof. Harnack also treats the preaching of Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth as historic. There Jesus selected a portion of Is. 61, and after reading it declared, "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears." Is not this equivalent to saying, "I am the Gospel, release to captives, restoration of sight to the blind, liberty to the bruised, and the establishment of Jehovah's

jubilee, are all of them exhibited in me and brought to men for their acceptance by me."

The same author also quotes the gracious invitation, as historic words of Jesus. But could Jesus give rest to the weary and heavy laden, if He were not divine? "Is there any such generic conception as religion at all. Is the common element in it anything more than a vague disposition? Is it only an empty place in our innermost being that the word denotes, which everyone fills up in a different fashion, and many do not perceive at all? I am not of that opinion, I am convinced, rather, that at the bottom we have to do here with something that is common to us all, and which in the course of history has struggled up out of torpor and discord into unity and light. I am convinced that Augustine is right when he says, 'Thou Lord, hast made us for Thyself, and our heart is restless until it finds rest in Thee.'" (p. 10).

If this be true, if the soul of man consciously or unconsciously thirsts for the living God, how could Jesus promise rest to the weary and heavy laden who come to Him unless He was conscious of being divine, one with God in His essential nature?

And there is a noteworthy passage which precedes the gracious invitation in Matthew, and is also given in the Gospel of Luke which Prof. Harnack treats as historic, and makes use of. It is this. "All things have been delivered to me of my Father and no one knoweth the Son save the Father, neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him." (Matt. 11:27; Luke 10:22). Our author tells us that it might be expected in the Gospel of John, and he comments upon it, but is unwilling to derive from it any Christology. But the text bears a serious consideration. A final revelation of the God against whom we have sinned, can only be made by God, and no shirking from doctrine or the Christological question can justify us in refusing to seek with humility to be wise up to what is clearly revealed. And so we note first, *the claim that Jesus makes*, that all things have been delivered to Him by the Father. Here is the absolute "all things." Should we limit this expression as Wellhausen and others do, and make it mean, not the commitment of all power, but of all knowledge, all the revelation needed for his task? It seems to me that such a limitation is arbitrary, and we must let the unlimited declaration stand as it

does. He came to make God in His graciousness known to man, and open up the way of reconciliation to Him and fellowship with him, and all knowledge and all power as the Father's Son and Ambassador was committed to him. It is true that God cannot lie, but this is not limitation, but a declaration of the perfection of His character. So the Son could do nothing against His mission, and this was not limitation but consistency and perfection of character. Hence the kingdom of God is also the kingdom of the Son, and it is in that kingdom the righteousness shall shine forth as the stars forever and ever.

(2) This donation of all things to the Son is indicated by the aorist tense, and we have the same tense in Matt. 28, 18, where Jesus declares that "All authority in heaven and earth hath been given to me," and Prof. Bruce says, "The reference probably is to the eternal purpose of God." (Expositor's Greek Testament, sub. Matt. 11:27). This would indicate the pre-existence of Jesus, and His participation in the counsels of eternity.

(3) Both the term Father and Son are used absolutely. "It is not my Father. The Father in His holy eternity is meant. And with such a Father the Son is correlative. Whatever is meant by the Father has its counterpart in the Son. If the one is the eternal Father, the other is the coeternal Son. There is all the fullness in the expression, the Son, that there is in the Father. (The Person and Place of Jesus Christ, by Dr. P. T. Forsyth, p. 112). There never was a time, when the Father was without the Son. Into this relation men come by a gracious adoption, but Jesus was conscious of this eternal relation, and He never speaks of Himself standing in this relation with men generally. Through discipleship to Jesus we may become sons of God, but this is the eternal relation of Jesus.

(4) The knowledge which none has of the Son save the Father is full knowledge (epignosis). Through the grace of God, and the revelation which the Son has made of Himself and is constantly making by His Spirit, we may know in part, but there are the same depths in the Son that there is in the Father. And this full knowledge of the Son which only the Father possesses, the Son has of the Father. To Him the Father is not past finding out.

(5) The Father is known to others, men or angels, only as the

Son wills to reveal Him. Prof. Harnack says, "It is the knowledge of God that makes the sphere of Divine Sonship. It is in this knowledge that He came to know the sacred Being who rules heaven and earth as Father, as His Father. The consciousness which he possessed of being the Son of God is, therefore, nothing but the practical consequence of knowing God as the Father, and His Father. Rightly understood, the name Son means nothing more but the knowledge of God." (p. 130). And so while Prof. Harnack admits that Jesus was conscious of being the Son of God, he tells us "the sentence, 'I am the Son of God,' was not inserted in the Gospel by Jesus Himself, and to put that sentence there side by side with the others is to make an addition to the Gospel. But no one who accepts the Gospel, and tries to understand Him who gave it to us, can fail to affirm that here the divine appeared in as pure a form as it can appear on earth, and to feel that for those who follow Him Jesus was Himself the strength of the Gospel." (p. 156).

But is not this putting the cart before the horse? Does not fulness of knowledge spring from the fulness of the personality, and could Jesus have as full knowledge of the Father, as the Father had of Him unless there were an equality of nature? Hence it is altogether inadequate to the facts of the Synoptic Gospels, to say nothing of the rest of the New Testament, to say that in Jesus "the divine appeared in as pure a form as it can appear on earth," and much as we may object to "doctrine" and "theology," it seems to me a weakness to hesitate regarding Jesus as the eternal Son with the Father, when we hear Him revising the law on His mere word, "I say unto you," claiming the power to forgive sins, and demanding of men an unconditional surrender to Him, and the giving up of all for his sake; and teaching that He will judge the world, and receive only those who do the will of the Father.

But I need not go into all the arguments which the Synoptic Gospels furnish for the deity of Christ. It seems to me that these are so many and so strong, and so enter into Christian experience, that all evangelical men, on the authority of the Synoptic Gospels as historically credible, must range themselves with Athanasius and the Nicean Creed, rather than with Arius, and the Eusebian Creeds; and it is not Jesus as the greatest of prophets and teachers that gives finality to the revelation of God to

men, but it is Jesus as the Son of the living God, one with the Father, who can say, I and my Father are one, He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father also.

Then there are others who read the Gospels, and pick out that which they think exhibits Jesus as the Saint and our example. What these want is the religion which Jesus practiced, and so we hear the cry, Let us get back to Christ over the heads of the Apostles, and away from the Rabinical reasoning of Paul, and get back to the religion Jesus practiced. The great question is, "What would Jesus do?" Young people are taught to exercise their imagination, and put Jesus into our modern life, and into the various relations of men in the modern world, and then ask what would He do or refuse to do in such relations and circumstances, and make our answer to those questions the rule of our life. These do not reflect that there were many social abuses in the world to which Jesus came, and in the Gospels He says nothing about them. There is nothing in the Gospels which makes the life and religion of Jesus our example, and a moment's reflection would teach us, that He cannot be our example, in many respects. He was in all points tempted as we are but He was without sin. His religion was not the religion of a sinner. He had no past over which He was called upon to triumph. He could not pray, Remember not O Lord the sins of my youth. Saints have their conflicts, and always the flesh lusteth against the Spirit and the Spirit against the flesh. The best of saints are not always sure of their estate. The soul is often in deep waters, and God seems far off. This was not so with Jesus. The Father was always consciously with Him, except in that brief season in which He was bearing a world's sins, and He cried out, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" What was the mode of His intercourse with the Father during His humiliation, the burden of His prayer in His retirement, we cannot tell. We know that He prayed, and as Son learned obedience in the things He suffered. But there never was any failure on His part to do the Father's will completely and willingly. Whatever limitations there were to Him in His earthly state, they existed for the purpose of His triumphing over them. They did not limit His personality but exhibited it as divine in its graciousness and mercy for lost man. As a father humbles himself so that his child may understand his language and ac-

tions, so God limited Himself that we might see and know of Him that which is necessary to know for our salvation. The cross is not an emblem of weakness, but of power. It manifested infinite self-denial, in a worldly point of view, that we might have the divine measure of true greatness and power.

It is not, therefore, Jesus as the Saint, or Jesus as the great teacher, that the Gospels chiefly exhibit, but Jesus as the Son of God, one with the Father, the only Mediator between God and man, fitted by His divine nature to represent God, give a final revelation of His grace to a lost world, and by His human nature which He united to His personality, fitted to represent man and be a world's sin bearer.

But there is another historical book of the New Testament, and Prof. Harnack admits that its author is the author of the third Gospel; and Prof. Ramsey by his travels in the footsteps of Paul, and by his researches into ancient history, and particularly into the divisions in the Roman Empire and the names of their rulers has put the book of Acts in the highest place as a credible history of the early Church. The title of the book in our Bibles is a plain misnomer, and in the forefront of his work the author indicates his subject. The things treated in the Gospel are the things Jesus *began* to do, and the emphatic position of the verb, began, indicates that the Gospel narrates only the beginning of Jesus' activity, and this book will continue the narration. He chooses the Apostles. He commanded them to wait in Jerusalem until endued with power from on high, that is, until they received the charisma which would make them His representatives and interpreters to the world. And hence the book of Acts exhibits Jesus as acting in the whole activity of the Apostles and early Evangelists. He gave the lot which completed the Apostolic body, and made them stand out before the world as the nucleus of a new Israel. He poured forth the Spirit on the assembly of His disciples and marked them as the nucleus of the antitypical kingdom of God, of which He is the head and King. Every change in the outward government of Israel sanctioned by God was accompanied with spiritual manifestations of a miraculous character. Thus the seventy chosen in the wilderness to bear government burdens with Moses received the Spirit temporarily and prophesied. By the same Spirit the judges were energized for their work of deliverance.

And when the kingly office was instituted, the sign that Saul the son of Kish was divinely chosen was indicated to him by the Spirit coming upon him so that he prophesied with the prophets. And when he was rejected and David chosen, the Spirit of God left Saul and came upon David, from that day forth. And from the time of David, prophecy looked forward to the highest blessing coming from a Son of David, who was also David's Lord.

So now when the Son of David had appeared and His earthly work was finished, by the same sign as marked the authorized changes in the typical kingdom, Jesus manifested the antitypical kingdom as consisting of those who were in fellowship with His chosen representatives. He had declared that the kingdom would be taken from those who sat in Moses' seat and given to a people bringing forth its fruits. He promised the disciples that they would sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel; and he conferred upon them the ministerial power of binding and loosing in His kingdom, of retaining and forgiving sins. And now on the day of the Pentecost He gave the visible sign of the inauguration of His kingdom. And so Peter tells the curious assembly drawn together by the report of the effusion that the effusion was from Him whom Jewish rulers had denied and crucified, and God had raised from the dead and constituted Him both Lord and Christ.

And so throughout the book of the Acts it is the exalted and enthroned Jesus we see acting through His Apostles and His Church. In miracles of mercy and judgment He is the actor. He sends Peter to Cornelius, and Philip to the Ethiopian eunuch. He appears to Stephen as He was being stoned as standing at the right hand of God. He delivers Peter from the prison and smites Herod, and Ananias and Sapphira. He meets with Saul the persecutor and turns him to a believer, and commissions him to be His ambassador to the Gentiles. He is with Paul in his journeys, hinders him from going into Bithynia and Mysia, and sends the vision that takes him to Europe. He opens the heart of Lydia and plants the first Church in European soil. He stands by Paul amid the opposition at Corinth, and by His Providence presides over his arrest and trials, so that by his appeal to Cæsar, Roman power becomes an instrument in carrying the Gospel to the world's capital.

And I cannot help thinking but that all this is deeply signi-

ficant, and not only exhibits the living Jesus as acting in the world's history, but also exhibits the imperial character of the Gospel as heralded and interpreted by the chosen representatives of the Christ of God. This is the story of the Acts, and the book closes, not where it would have closed, had it been a history of Paul's labors, or those of Peter, but closes when the Gospel has reached a goal which can signify its imperial character, and be the power to shake the throne of the Cæsars, and introduce to the world a kingdom of intelligence and grace. We do not ask primarily, Is the book of Acts inspired? but we ask, Is it credible history? If it is, as the critics admit, then we have a demonstration of the position of the Apostles and their relation to Christ. Prof. Harnack admits that "we cannot answer the question, What is Christianity so long as we are restricted to Christ's teachings alone. We must include the first generation of the disciples as well—those who ate and drank with Him—and we must listen to the effect which He had upon their lives." (p. 11).

Now Jesus from the very beginning of His ministry hinted at His death and resurrection as the object of His mission (John 2:19), and indicated that eternal life was to be the consequence of men believing in Him as lifted up on the cross. (John 3:14). He indicated that He was the bridegroom of His disciples, and that fasting was inappropriate as long as He was with them, but days would come when He would be taken away and then there would be occasions for fasting. (Matt. 9:15; Mark 2:19; Luke 5:34). To those demanding a sign from heaven He gave the sign of the prophet Jonah, and indicated that as Jonah was three days and nights in the belly of the whale, so shall the Son of Man be three days and nights in heart of the earth. (Matt. 12:40). These indications plainly teach that Jesus was conscious from the beginning of His ministry that death and resurrection were the goal of His earthly life and up to His visit to Cæsarea Philippi He was educating His disciples, so that from His actions and teaching they might apprehend His Messiahship and divine personality. Hence when Peter as the spokesman of the body confessed Him as the Christ, the Son of the living God, Jesus indicated that the confession was not made from mere sentiment, nor from traditional instruction or the force of environment, but it was made through a supernatural revelation by the Father, and on the rock of Peter, as a man supernaturally en-

lightened, He would build His Church and the gates of Hades would not prevail against it. He saw Peter as the first of a mighty host, and was confident of final victory. The expression "gates of Hades," is often understood as indicative of the power of the devil. But while it is true that wickedness shall not prevail against Christ building His Church, this is not the meaning of the passage. By the gates of Hades is meant death, which removes Prophets and Apostles after they have served their generation according to the will of God. And if death was not to prevail against Christ building His Church, then the Church and its building was to have a lengthened history, and the activity of Christ as a builder was to continue after His first confessors had entered into rest. And what the death of Christ was, what Christ regarded it as being before the event took place is manifested by His declaration, that the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many. He gave His life, voluntarily for His sheep. No man took it from Him. He laid it down and took it up again by His own power. He viewed His death as a sacrifice, establishing the new covenant spoken of by Jeremiah.

But all this was not understood, could not be, until the event took place and the charisma was given to the Apostles which made them the official interpreters of Christ and Christianity. By word and act they interpreted Christ as the final revelation of a gracious God to sinful men. They did not act of themselves, they did not speak of themselves, but Christ acted and spoke in them. In them was the promise fulfilled, Lo I am with you all the days till the consummation. Paul could say, I have the mind of Christ. (1 Cor. 2:16). And this does not mean that Paul claimed that he had the temper or disposition of Christ, but it means that he had the knowledge of Christ. What he said and what he did was not determined merely by himself. While he was a free agent, and acted from a sense of responsibility and obligation, he was also a new creation, and the charisma was so given to him that He could speak the wisdom of God in language suitable to his audience. He was put in trust of the Gospel.

I do not say that Paul and the other Apostles had words put in their mouth, of which they knew not the meaning and force, or that no other words can be substituted for those used by the

Apostles. And as the term "verbal inspiration" has been misunderstood, I do not care to contend very strongly for it. And yet with all honest men, there is a correspondence between thought and the language which is chosen to express it. Some things which the Apostles wrote might have a local application, and be for the instruction of particular classes at particular times. Thus the veiling of women in Corinth, and the advice to abstain from marriage, may be regarded as of a temporary character. And yet in such instruction there is a permanent element, and it is that Christians are to respect the customs of society, and refrain from such actions as would bring reproach on the Gospel, and that the cause of Christ is to be regarded as worthy of the first place in our affections, and all social entanglements are to be eschewed when the cause of Christ requires such a sacrifice.

Nor am I willing to say, that the Apostles were plenarily inspired, as this has been misunderstood, as if it taught that all their teachings were of equal importance, and that the Apostles were always under the influence of a supernatural charisma so that Peter when he dissembled at Antioch, and Paul, when he reproved him were both equally inspired, and the whole scene was a sort of "pious fraud," as Jerome taught.

But I do say that the Apostles were each of them so supplied with a supernatural charisma that they fully and finally interpret the Gospel of Christ to the successive generations of men during all future history, and to disregard the teachings of the Apostles, and attempt to get near to Christ by discarding their teachings, can only lead to a mutilation and abandonment of the Gospel in its purity.

And I think that there are many things which show that this was the way the Apostles conceived of their office and work. It is noticeable that they do not imitate the style of the Gospels. They did not so learn of Christ that they taught in His rhetorical style. They do not use the parabolic style of teaching, nor do they quote Christ's words as authority for their teaching. "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ" is not in so many words a command uttered by Christ, but Christ's command, as truly as if uttered by Him. And so Paul speaks of injunctions he laid upon the Churches, as commands of Christ, because Christ spoke in and by him, and he is so sure that His

Gospel is the very Gospel of Christ that he regards an angel from heaven as worthy of being anathematized if he preach another Gospel.

Paul might use Rabbinical forms of reasoning, as for example, from the singular of the word seed in the promise to Abraham, he argued that one person was meant, and that one person was Christ. But however Rabbinical the form of the reasoning, the conclusion is sound, and it is our Lord who says Abraham rejoiced to see his day and was glad. So there may be other forms of catching men with guile, using ad hominem arguments, but what is always in view is Christ and His cross, and this is interpreted to men with a fulness and a finality which makes the New Testament the only external authority for the Christian religion, and directly or indirectly the means by which the Holy Spirit grants such illumination to humble men and women, that outside of the schools, there are multitudes who have a well-grounded assurance by which they can say, with the Apostle, I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed to Him against that day. (2 Tim. 1:12).

And what the Apostles teach is a religion that is theocentric in its origin, Christo-centric in its manifestation to the world historically, and applied to the hearts and lives of men by the Spirit of Christ taking of the things of Christ and showing them to men in their truth and beauty. And the origin of the Gospel is not in a complacent love of God for men, but it is in a love of holiness and graciousness. The Father is pleased with the Son, delights in Him, and Him He gave that through complacency with His incarnation and cross in behalf of guilty man, the glory of the divine attributes might be manifested, and in the satisfaction which Christ rendered to truth and justice, mercy and judgment might meet together, and righteousness and peace kiss each other in the redemption and salvation of a countless host of believers.

I have left myself but little space to speak of the Old Testament. Dr. Horton, in his Yale Lectures, deprecates the common practice of speaking of the Bible as the Word of God, and thinks that the Word of God is always a personal message which is given to individuals. He holds that preachers are prophets, and when they preach they should have a vision from God. And

he gives some instances of messages which men gave to others, which he regards as much the Word of God, as the Word of the Lord to the prophets. Much that Dr. Horton says in his book, "The Word of God," is very edifying, but his theory of visions for modern preachers is exceedingly visionary, and visionary preachers would be fully as bad as sensational preachers. The Bible contains a record of the final Word of God to men, and that is to be interpreted soberly and grammatically, and not from visions or preconceived theories. And the Old Testament is the record of the divine guidance and revelation which God gave to a chosen people, in order to prepare the world for the Gospel of Christ and the final message which came through His divine personality.

And it seems to me that the authority and use of the Old Testament is to be learned from our Lord. He does not determine for us, in so many words the canon of Old Testament Scripture, but He does refer to a collection of books called "The Law and the Prophets," and He came to fulfill the requirements of this collection in its least as well as its greatest provisions. What books this collection contained is a matter determined by historical evidence. We can be very sure that it contained the five books of Moses, the historical books of Joshua, Judges, and 2nd Samuel, 1st and 2nd Kings, which the Jews spoke of as the former prophets, and Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, with the twelve minor prophets, which were spoken of as the latter prophets.

The rest of the books of the Old Testament the Hebrew Bibles classify under the designation of the *Kethubim* or the Holy Writings, and after the resurrection we are told that Jesus explained to His disciples the things concerning Himself in the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms. As the Book of Psalms is the first book of the *Kethubim* or Holy Writings, it is possible that these three terms designate the whole Bible as we have it in our Hebrew copies, and in our translations from the Hebrew. The *Kethubim* contained the book of Daniel, and in His eschatological address from the summit of Olivet Jesus referred to that book. (Comp. Matt. 24:13 with Dan. 3:27, 11:31, 12:11). In Matt. 13:43 there is an allusion to Dan. 12:3, and in John 5:25 Jesus speaks of the resurrection of the dead in terms taken from Dan. 12:2.

Criticism may assign this book to a later age than the captivity, and may even regard it as one of the Pseudepigraphic Apocalypses which were popular among the Jews between 200 B. C. and the advent, but however that may be, it is sufficient for the Christian that Jesus used it, and however much men may abuse that particular book and assume to learn from it the things which the Father has kept in his own power, all the disciples of Jesus will regard the book with reverence, and endeavor to make a good use of it.

And it is to be borne in mind also, that while Jesus accused the Jewish teachers of making the Word of God of non-effect by their traditions, He never accused them of adding to the written Scriptures any books which did not rightfully belong to them, or of taking any away. Hence we have reasonable grounds for believing that the collection of books in our Bibles was the collection of books Jesus recognized as the Word of God, and which He came to fulfill. And we have good reasons for believing that the Old Testament was then what it is to-day. If the critics are right in thinking of the Hexateuch as made up of writings from different authors, which have been dovetailed together with more or less skill, the Old Testament had that character then, and all that the critics have alleged concerning the Old Testament may be regarded as a mere exercise of scholastic wit, and over their heads we may go to Jesus and receive the Word from Him.

NOW JESUS MADE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

(1) As a rule of direction for His own earthly life of humiliation. To the suggestion of the tempter that He should satisfy His hunger by turning the stones of the desert into bread, and thus prove that He was^t the Son of God, He replied by quoting Deut. 8:3: "Man shall not live by bread alone; but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God." And if this passage in Deuteronomy be carefully studied, it will be seen that Jesus regarded Himself as the antitypical Israel, and where the typical Israel had failed to trust God in the desert hardships and trials, it was His part to fulfill the ancient type by a perfect trust in God, and so prove His Sonship morally and spiritually, rather than by outward physical miracles. And it should be

noticed that the term translated word (*rama*) is not a mere vocable of one or more syllables, but it is a sentence, an oracle, and the plural form indicates that there are many such oracles proceeding from the mouth of God, and that man, as such, is under the highest obligations to keep them.

The other quotations from that temptation scene in our Lord's life, are introduced by the phrase, "It is written" and they indicate that Jesus in His humiliation was a man of the book and could say, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path."

(2) Jesus used the Old Testament for the purpose of determining what was primarily fundamental and permanent in religion. On two occasions He made use of Hosea 6:6, where Jehovah is represented as saying, "I desire goodness and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." On the one occasion it was to defend His own actions in eating with publicans and sinners (Matt. 9:13), and in the other it was in defense of His disciples, accused of Sabbath breaking because they plucked and eat of the grain as they passed by the fields on the Sabbath.

(3) From the Old Testament He determined that His vocation was the cross. He commanded His disciples to sheath the sword, asking them, "Thinkest thou not that I cannot beseech my Father, and He shall even now send Me more than twelve legions of angels? How then should the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be." (Matt. 26:53-54; Mark 12:10; Luke 24:46).

(4) He referred to the Fifth Commandment (Ex. 20:12), and to the provision of the law for one who cursed a father or a mother (Ex. 21:17), and charged the teachers of the time with making the Word of God void because of their traditions. (Matt. 15:3-7). He gave the young man who came to Him with the question of how he might obtain eternal life, the second table of commandments (Matt. 19:18-19), and He found the sum of social duties in Lev. 19:18, which the critics of the present day assign to the so-called Priest Code.

(5) So our Lord made use of the prophecies, not indeed as they are frequently used to-day, to make men prophets, and enable them to predict hundreds of wonders to occur within the next few years, nor to find proof of the inspiration of Scrip-

tures in the present condition of Egypt, or Babylon, or Nineveh, but to reveal the manner in which redemption was to be made known to the world. Thus He used Malichi 3:1 as pointing out the Baptist, and 4:1 to identify him with the promised Elijah.

(6) He sets aside the Mosaic law of divorce on the ground that it is against the law of God revealed in the creation, when God made man male and female, and on the ground of that distinction of sex He taught that it was a natural thing that a man should leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and they two should become one flesh. Thus He joined together Gen. 1:26 of the Priest Code and Gen. 2:24 of the Jehovistic Writings.

(7) He also referred to persons and events mentioned in the historical parts of the Old Testament, and by such use indicated to all succeeding generations that the Old Testament contained that divine revelation, by which God was preparing for the final redemption by His antitypical servant Jesus Christ, and by His cross and resurrection. If the Jewish people had really believed Moses they would have received and believed in Jesus Christ, but if the Old Testament in its revelation of the gracious attributes of God, His forbearance, patience, mercy and grace was neglected, and ceremonies and rites became more important, then it is no wonder that Christ was rejected and crucified by the people to whom the oracles of God were committed.

The primary use of the Old Testament to those whom it was given from time to time was as a means of grace, enabling them to be patient in the performance of present duties, and bearing patiently the present darkness while they looked with confidence for better things to come. As the Apostles were the authorized interpreters of Christ in his finished work, and made use of providential occasions to write epistles to the Churches, applying the Gospel as they understood it to the various needs of the Churches addressed, so the human writers of the Old Testament were the commissioned servants of Christ to prepare the people of Israel for the redemption that was ever drawing nigh; and by their ministry a small remnant was maintained, who looked for the consolation.

We cannot prove that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are inspired to men who are not illuminated by the Spirit of God, and so the inspiration of the Scriptures is not one of

these primary truths upon which the preacher must insist. We can prove that the writers of the Old and New Testaments were competent and veracious, and we can prove that men in every station of life have experienced the great redemption which these writings reveal as accomplished in the work of Jesus Christ, and have become new men, men whose godliness became the root of a new morality which overturned the pagan civilization of ancient Rome, and introduced a new civilization, in which there is a progressive movement toward a higher righteousness, and a growing feeling of responsibility for the well-being of our neighbor.

The scientific theologian, regarding the Scriptures as furnishing the materials for theology may put the discussion of inspiration in the forefront of his work, but the practical Christian who has experienced the forgiveness of sin and the gift of eternal life through the incarnation, life and death of Jesus Christ, comes to the Bible as a means of grace, and from the reproofs, encouragements and consolations he finds there he comes to know that the Scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation. He is not therefore, overmuch disturbed by the critical theories concerning the manner of forming the Hexateuch, and however it may have been formed, and however many writings may have been dovetailed into it, as long as we have good and sufficient evidence for believing that the Bible we now have is the same in all essential particulars as it was in the time of our Lord, the principal duty of Christians will be to learn to use it as he used it, praying for the Spirit which He had without measure, that we may have the same Spirit in a measure suited to our lot in life, and so use the Bible as a means of grace, teaching us to fulfill our vocation, be patient in our trials, courageous in our difficulties, resigned in our afflictions and limitations, and always rejoicing in the prospect of a day soon to dawn, when we shall see Him who gave His life a ransom for us, and is the ever-living Saviour, present with His Church and people to make His Word potent to heal all our diseases and banish all our fears.

Siegfried, Pa.

ARTICLE III.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION.

BY PROFESSOR B. F. PRINCE, PH.D.

At no time in its history has the American college been so persistently weighed in the balance as now. This is done not by its enemies who are seeking its overthrow, but by its professed friends and admirers. Criticism of the present methods and character of our institutions is now involved. Their work and achievements in the past are praised and declared useful, but the time is now at hand when the evolutionary process of educational interests makes it necessary that the old methods be abandoned and that the individualistic plan upon which all earlier institutions were founded, give way to the newer method of planting and fostering institutions of learning by the State. By this change, it is believed, learning will be advanced, morals adapted to suit the needs of the times and scholars be produced more in harmony with the requirements of the age.

The profound study of the entire collegiate question has been brought into prominence by the recent gifts of Andrew Carnegie, designated to be used for the support of teachers in higher institutions of learning, who have passed a large part of their life in the work of instruction, receiving therefor meagre salaries, and now in the evening of life, when further effective duties are impossible, they must retire without further support.

When Mr. Carnegie made his munificent gift of ten million dollars for the benefit of teachers who had served the required years fixed as a condition for receiving a pension from this fund, he classified the institutions by saying, "for teachers in universities, colleges, and technical schools." In order to restrict the use of the funds he further says: "We have however to recognize that State and Colonial governments which have established or mainly supported universities, colleges, or schools, may prefer that their relations shall remain exclusively with the State. I cannot therefore presume to include them."

"There is another class which States do not aid, and their con-

stitutions, in some cases even forbidding it, viz., sectarian institutions. Many of these, established long ago, were truly sectarian, but to-day are free to all men of all creeds or of none—such are not to be considered sectarian now. Only such as are under the control of a sect or require trustees (or a majority thereof), officers, faculty or students, to belong to any specified sect, or which impose any theological test, are to be excluded.”

The clause relating to State and Colonial institutions has now been modified by Mr. Carnegie. In 1908, three years after his first offer, he addressed the trustees in a letter in which he says: “I beg now to say that should the governing boards of any State university apply for participation in the fund, and the Legislature and Governor of the State approve such application, it will give me great pleasure to increase the fund to the extent necessary to admit them. I understand from you if all the State universities should apply and be admitted, five millions more of five percent. bonds would be required, making the fund fifteen million dollars in all.”

This addition to the fund was made and a large number of State universities have applied, although only a few have been admitted to the benefits. The trustees, through its executive committee, are closely examining the character and condition of each applying State university, and are seeking to bring each one to a standard that they regard worthy of a higher institution of learning.

In making his first proposition in which he excluded denominational colleges from the benefits of the fund, Mr. Carnegie was evidently laboring to some extent under a misapprehension concerning them. Probably his knowledge of English universities in which far into the last century no one but a member of the established church could be enrolled as a student, led him to believe that the same conditions prevailed here. Those acquainted with our denominational colleges know that perhaps without exception no religious test is required for entrance. Each student is regarded with favor because he is seeking an education, and if he is earnest in purpose, obedient to the general regulations of the school, and of good character, he is welcome to all its privileges. It is not required as a condition for entrance that he should be a member of the Church under whose control the institution is, but whether of another sect, whether Jew, Catholic, or non-be-

liever, he is admitted to all the privileges and rights of any other student at the same place.

Neither in the curriculum is he confronted by the peculiar tenets or doctrinal views of the denomination in control, but a course in general education is offered him, much the same as will be found in the accepted institutions now enjoying the benefits of the foundation.

In the matter of professors, it is usually required that they be members of some orthodox church, a qualification that does not interfere in the exercise of their ability or freedom as teachers. A denominational institution could not afford to ask less. Neither has the cause of education ever suffered by this requirement, but many professors in such institutions have been foremost in research work, scientific discoveries, and new methods of instruction and investigation.

Nor has the matter of control of college boards made up of men elected by synods, conferences, or other designated body, worked any ill to the cause of education. Members elected in this way are usually just as intelligent, far-seeing, and helpful, as those elected under a self-perpetuating plan. In many boards there are persons who are not members of the Church which controls the institution, showing that no narrow spirit prevails in their management.

The inference from the restriction in the section above quoted regarding members of the boards of denominational colleges is that one chosen outside of denominational limits only is worthy to control the interests of an institution of learning which, in view of past experience, is a position that could not be maintained. Boards so elected have guided institutions through many perils and difficulties and made them conspicuous for thoroughness of training, breadth of character, and renown for the qualities exhibited by their students.

The proper distribution of the income arising from the magnificent gift of Mr. Carnegie was provided for by the donor in the appointment of a board of trustees, who also out of their number appointed an executive committee of seven to have immediate charge of the policies to be pursued and the investigation of the standing and character of the various applicants. This committee assumed an arduous and intricate task. A great scheme had been inaugurated, and the success or failure of it would depend

upon a wise or foolish management. Aside from the restrictions placed by Mr. Carnegie in the distribution of the funds, the managers were confronted at once with the large number of institutions in the land, colleges and universities whose educational standards varied greatly, some noted for a high degree of efficiency for work done in ample courses, and some not worthy to bear the title nor able to support the pretensions which they so freely published to the world. These conditions have made the work of the trustees discriminating and arduous, but have given cause for many institutions that have been turned down to be dissatisfied and disappointed with their judgment.

From the study of the whole situation of the educational question the executive committee have formed some opinions of their own. They are especially expressed in various reports, addresses and papers by Dr. Pritchett, now chairman of both the general body of trustees and of the executive committee. Respecting colleges not under State control he says: "It must be clear to any student of American education that the debt which the country owes to the detached colleges is beyond estimate. They were the pioneers. They served their day with full faith and devotion. They were founded generally under the individualistic conception of education."

But according to Dr. Pritchett they have had their day and must now give way to a new conception of education, one in which all are combined in a system regulated and controlled by a great central power. One cannot help but feel a deep sympathy and loving veneration for the work done by these individualistic colleges of the earlier period of our history. Down to 1870 there was scarcely a college of note in this country that was not established under that system. They made scholars, teachers, diplomats, statesmen and gentlemen. What impulse was given to the cause of education in that day came from them. They stood for the common schools, for the academy, and later for the high school, and furnished them many teachers. They furnished the men who became the leaders in the new education of our times. A few years ago a writer in the "Popular Science Monthly" said that the old education, largely literary in character, had furnished the leaders in present day thought and had given to scientific learning a list of remarkable men, and then declared that

we must wait twenty-five years before we can say whether the latter methods bring better results than the former.

It is assumed by the executive committee that denominational colleges in the future will lower rather than elevate the standard of education; that in their desire to get students, and their lack of facilities for much original work, the demands for a high grade of scholarship will be so modified that there will be a real loss in efficiency. Yet the committee confesses that in States where several State institutions are supported by public tax, there is an unwholesome rivalry which results in an easy admission of students to swell their numbers.

There is now a practice in some of the larger institutions that is more dangerous to the cause of general education than can be found in the smaller colleges. It was Dr. Eliot of Harvard who a few years ago advocated so strenuously the elimination of one of the four years requisite for a complete collegiate course. His idea was to shorten by that much the time for entering the active duties of life. His plan was not received with favor by most educators, but in many institutions where professional schools are a part of the educational plant, students are allowed to reduce the time from nine years to eight, at the close of which they receive two degrees, the bachelor's and the professional. This method is not only practiced, but made an advertising feature in such institutions. No denominational school to my knowledge has adopted this plan, perchance because they do not usually have professional schools associated with them whereby they might offer this opportunity. Nevertheless, the charge that they lower educational standards is not well founded; rather they stand for the full four years of work, and are disposed to advance the curriculum and enforce it, equal to the best State institutions.

Dr. Pritchett says of the early institutions which have survived to this time: "To-day they find themselves confronted with a conception of education as the duty of the State." This conception lies at the foundation of the reasoning about education of the above leader. He would have the whole scheme from the beginning to the topmost notch, through common school, high school, college, and through university, co-ordinated, each a step in the development of the youthful mind. The State should formulate the plan and expect all to fall in with it. The old

method of collegiate education, they say, was on an individualistic basis, that is no longer suited to the times, and is being superseded rapidly by State control. The denominational schools must either adapt themselves to the new conditions or perish by the wayside, thus closing up their history, while their memory will remain as a curio of a past age.

I do not believe it will come to that. While not a part legally of the State system of education, these individualistic schools are fully aware of the conditions in our high schools, and are doing their part to remain abreast of the moving tide and use whatever of good is suggested by them, and supplement whatever else may be found necessary. Their object is to make not only scholars, but to do their part toward the improvement and advancement of the mental, moral, and spiritual condition of society, fully as well as those institutions supported and fostered by the State.

It is this co-ordination of all the schools under the control of the State that appeals so strongly to the trustees of the Carnegie Foundation. Anything that stands in the way of accomplishing this seems to them objectionable. If denominational schools are a hindrance they should not be encouraged, no matter what their standard otherwise may be. The committee is in favor of a grand system much as the leaders in business life are in favor of a combination that falls under some central control and carries on all future operations according to a system of its own. Organization is a great thing; it is needed everywhere; great things are accomplished by it; yet individual initiative has done more for the world's advancement in the last three or four centuries than was done by centralizing influences in all the ages preceding. There is harmony even in diversity caused by each leader seeing with keen vision the relation his work bears to the surrounding conditions, and being led thereby to put forth his best efforts to secure results best for all.

With all the history of the past to furnish examples, and with all the advantages of the present age, many State schools even fall short of the ideas entertained by the trustees of the Foundation. It seems harder for them to get into line and attain a proper standard than it is for the majority of the denominational schools to meet the present day demands. In some States two, and in one, three schools of learning are supported at public expense. According to the investigations made by the exe-

executive committee, these conditions introduce such rivalry for students and duplication of courses as to interfere largely with entrance requirements and with the efficiency of the work done, and to prevent that systematic progress in the educational system which is so much desired. Yet all these institutions have the ear of the executive committee and are in process of ultimately securing a share in the funds.

That the executive committee is against extending the benefits of the foundation to the denominational colleges is quite clear. In 1909 a memorial was presented to the committee by the presidents of such leading colleges. The memorial states that in many instances it would be hazardous to separate an institution from the religious body that founded it. It asks that the benefits of the Foundation may be extended to those institutions:

1. "Which meet the academic and financial standing of the Foundation.
2. Whose property is not specifically held for a denomination by an ecclesiastical officer or a religious order.
3. Which do not prescribe denominational tests for administrative officers, faculty, or students; and
4. Which do not require the teaching of denominational tenets."

The executive committee was asked to present this memorial to Mr. Carnegie. This they did, but accompanied it with the statement that they did not feel justified in recommending that he withdraw his former restrictions respecting denominational colleges, thereby showing their lack of sympathy with the colleges interested in the memorial.

The following may be stated as the position of the trustees of the Foundation:

1. That all institutions of the required standard having no legal connection with any ecclesiastical body, may be admitted to the benefits of the foundation.
2. That the State universities when standards are sufficiently advanced are eligible.
3. That there is a desire to organize a system of education which shall be wholly under the control of the State.
4. That the trustees are willing as they have shown to recognize and pension teachers regardless of the fact that the institu-

tions in which they have served are not eligible, by expending a large sum in their behalf.

5. That no institution, no matter how great its merits in standard of scholarship, equipments, and courses, if connected with and supported by a religious order can hope under the present management to be admitted to the benefits of the foundation.

Two courses are open to those institutions that now stand rejected:

1st. That they sever all legal connection with the religious bodies that gave them birth and financial support in the days of their great need.

Or 2nd. That they continue on their present basis, trusting to their friends for further support, being willing to forego any immediate hope of recognition on the part of the managers of the Foundation for their work and usefulness in the cause of education.

The first of these courses does not commend itself to the management of the most of our denominational institutions. Some few, it is said, have made a spectacle of themselves in their hurry to change their charters and constitutions to conform to the requirements for admission. This conduct was hardly fair to their founders and must in time bring reflection on themselves in the eyes of all thinking men. If when there was no fund designated for such purpose as that of the Foundation, men were willing to make the sacrifice, they must recognize that their sacrifice is no greater now, and their deprivation no added hardship. An institution bedded in the affections of a devoted constituency, and which has gathered about it a history of achievements that come only with years, cannot afford to tear itself aloof from the trust and confidence of its friends, especially if by such an act it detaches itself from the fundamental things that brought it into being.

The second proposition seems the only one honorably open to all such institutions. The denominational colleges have made their plea, an honorable one and full of good sense. It did not meet the approval of the executive committee to whose judgment Mr. Carnegie acceded, and so the request was turned down. To our Lutheran institutions this action will not interfere with good work. They are no worse off now than they were before the gift was made, though there will naturally be a feeling of

disappointment that they along with others were not admitted. As Lutherans, we cannot afford to change the charters of our colleges and make them independent of church relations. They owe something to the State; our colleges train for that in the broad courses they offer to young men; but they owe a debt to our churches as well. They have responsibilities to the people as well as to their teaching force. There should be no fear that the constituency will lose interest in their colleges and fail to respond to their needs as the years go by. Rather, if radical changes are made to meet the requirements of the Foundation, and the bonds that now hold people and colleges together are rudely severed, will danger from lukewarmness on the part of the people be imminent. To set high standards of work in our colleges and strive by honest effort to reach them, and show by real products this high quality, will be the best way to win favor with the board of trustees of the Foundation. I do not believe we will gain anything by any severe denunciation of the views of these trustees but, rather, in time, win them by a moderate course, and waiting for their conversion to a fair view of the situation and an appreciation of the work done by our institutions of learning.

Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.

ARTICLE IV.

THE PERSONALITY OF MAN IN BASS-RELIEF.

BY PROFESSOR W. H. WYNN, PH.D., D.D.

Self-study, self-knowledge, has always been recognized as the highest prerogative of the civilized man. All religions enjoin it; all philosophies profess to be but gleanings from the close observation of the conscious workings of the human mind.

In Greece it was made the summary duty of the worshipper to sit down, and call himself to an account, as he approached the oracle of his God. Written over the gateway of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, was the far-famed motto, "*Know Thyself*," as if to make that duty the key to a favoring response from the divinity within. For the Greek, that great maxim practically formulated the whole duty of man, as it related him to the powers of the invisible world. The frivolous and shallow had no welcome there—the thoughtless, those who were satisfied to swing the giddy round of everyday happening, without ever once opening the doors of their souls. "Stop," the oracle would say, "right here, and for one solemn, awful moment, look within."

Let us open our New Testament; we shall find the same thing there; not now as a motto, nor as a philosophical system, dialectically and logically long drawn out, such as was the glory of a Socrates or a Plato among the ancient Greeks. It is rather an implication, a whisper, running through all that the Master said and did—"you cannot know the highest, without looking in upon your own souls." As between the Hebrew and the Greek, the diversity of method and accent is striking in the extreme. But in the end they are saying the same thing; putting the same supreme estimate on the soul of man. Let us see in what way our great Gospel addressed itself to this stupendous theme.

Here was a movement upon humanity—a redemption movement—what could it mean but the infinite valuation of the human soul, something in man that must engage the whole moral and physical universe in its behalf? This wondrous story, in all its historical and inductive renderings, has no meaning at all, except upon the antecedent assumption of the incalculable value

of the human soul. Therefore for long centuries after the cross, the chief business of Christendom was to develop a theory of the human soul, the idea of individuality, the conception of a free moral being responsible to God. Into this channel flowed all the best thinking of our modern world. Hence theology; hence philosophy; hence science; studies peculiar to the genius of the Occidental world, to all which introversion was necessary, a patient pupilage, so to speak, at the inner shrines of the conscious self.

In the Oriental religions there was no theology, no science, and their subtle metaphysics effloresced, for the most part, in grotesque dreams. Somehow their study of self resulted in the dispersion of self—a cloud of pantheism and nihilism dropping it off, always, into an abyss of nothingness and night. Those great religious reformers, Buddha and the rest, were, indeed, able, by times, to penetrate far into the unexplored mysteries of the human soul, surprising us, often, at the wide range of their insight and research; but, overcome at last by the emotional heats of their torrid clime, they invariably swooned themselves away into ecstasies and dreams.

Not so in our Western world. Christianity was never a dream. It has been often enough a speculation, let us grant, when the great system-builders, following the lead of their logic, would rear an imposing intellectual structure upon empirical premises hastily conceived. But in due time, as we have observed, these have toppled and fallen, and left our imperishable Jesus to loom up the larger, because of the crumbling pageantry lying at his feet. The reason is, his estimate of the human soul. It is written yonder on the cross. It is as if he had said: That soul of thine has the universe pledged in its interests; all the stars in the sky make their revolutions around it; and the eternities themselves are standing guard over it, that its intrinsic spiritual potentialities may not be debased.

O, well, you say, that is a stale old story, blown over and exploded by the scientific wisdom of our contemporary time. It is all gone—this old idea of the soul. A thousand years in forming, the physical and psychical discoveries of our own day, have sent it hurtling with the winds—this idea of a personal ego, superior to, and surviving, the body in which it dwells. A soul! a soul! let us hear no more of it; the word has no meaning to our modern ear. “A compact physiological unit;” that is the

formula; that is man, and all of man that the utmost stretch of scientific inquiry can ever discover—all beyond is the effete maundering of worn-out creeds.

Halt a moment—it is not well, on ground like this, to presume overmuch. The temperature of our scientific skies has greatly changed. A little while ago, as middle-aged men will vividly recall, our speculative science was flushed with an imaginary victory of that kind. The great evolutionary formula was carried to its apotheosis in great triumph, and the distinguished savants were rejoicing in their newly discovered impersonal God. But their joy was short-lived. A fundamental condition in the problem had been strangely overlooked, to wit, the scientific man himself, leaving his laboratory, and walking abroad among his fellowmen on the street. The moral order, which he thought was overthrown, started up before him, and challenged his ability to go backward or forward on the city streets.

Among all the good things which Victor Hugo said, none was wiser than this: “The All is not the All, unless it includes personality, and that personality is God.” No chemical or physical formula will interpret for us the men and women, the human personalities, with whom we must mingle every day on the streets—the men and women who are manifestly superior to the ground on which they tread, and to the fleshy bodies in which they dwell. That sense of superiority! let us call it “personality,” and be done with our doubts.

And we have actually witnessed this great revolution in the scientific mind of our age. The leading investigators have turned themselves once again into the school of the soul—to that in man which thinks, and wills, and loves; and they have consented that it shall be in a category by itself, next in reality to the all-inclusive, inextinguishable, idea of God. Not abandoning their test-tubes and crucibles, they have, in the brief intervals of their leisure, had flashes of insight into the meaning of human life around them, with its key-words of destiny, such as justice, responsibility, conscience, which their most thoroughgoing analysis may never spirit away.

Thence to what Jesus thought of the soul, were an easy step to take. Following this, Christianity comes in with its long history of struggle with manifold adverse systems, assailing, now and again, its lofty estimate of the human individuality, and its

proffer of help, as against the possible contingency of an enfeebled will. But it is all clear to us now. There is no staunch dissenter anywhere to be found in the field. Jesus knew what it was he came to help, and His far journey to our planet was not an extravagant outlay of the divine solicitude, as is sometimes charged, "altogether out of proportion to the end to be attained." No! no! Christianity has set a price on the human soul, which is not calculable in terms of material profit and loss, but is measurable only by the divine self-sacrifice made for it, to which history everywhere witnesses, and the most impressive symbol of which is, the marred visage and the thorn-crowned head of the Son of Man.

But turning from the cross, we may study our human personality in the ever-abiding phenomenon of our great men. "There are, indeed, men whose souls are like the sea," another saying of Hugo's, when in exile on the island of Jersey, he soothed the hours of his solitude by a profounder study of Shakespeare's plays. His window gave glimpses of the sea. Alongside of him sat his son, who would make the leisure of his expatriation tributary to the high literary project he had in view, the getting of Shakespeare over into French—father and son engaged at the same time, in diverse ways, in letting down their plummets into this great Englishman's sea-like soul. It was a singular spectacle, this, of genius measuring genius, in that bleak house of exile yonder, in the bosom of the sea. It will serve our present purpose by suggesting two things. First, there are always great men for great occasions in the world; and, second, there are depths to the human personality which no plummet of science can ever sound.

And yet we feel, that the winds of scepticism have blown roughly over this long-cherished conception of the function of great men in the world—the effect, of course, of the prolonged attempt to reduce the personality of man to physiological terms. Go into the shops and stores; mingle with men on the streets. Perhaps it is more particularly among professional men, lawyers, doctors, pedagogues, and—alas! must we say it? preachers, even, that the thing we complain of is most likely to be found, a levity, or lack of reverence, a shallow estimate of the personality of man. Materialism made havoc here as everywhere else. It

was a sweeping and devastating wave, and left our old-time philosophy of man visibly reduced in girth and in wind.

Let us conceive of the situation in this way. When everything is materialized—*everything*—absolutely everything, in the social, intellectual, and spiritual life of mankind—why, then, everything is accounted for by the formulas of force, and there is no place any longer for what we are wont to call the ethical will. And then where there is no will, there is no moral world; and society, with its ideas of freedom, and right, and justice, and heroism, and love, and its adverse possibilities of wrong and corruption, and crime, and hate—all this under the severe logic of materialism, can be little other than a delusion and a snare. Time was when this desperate dogma was blurted right out. “Strike from your vocabulary the term ‘will,’” said M. Taine, “it is an empty *flatus vocis*, of service, only, in flattering the vanity of man.” Well, no one talks in that strain now, and it is almost a scandal to revive the memory of the ancient offense. The school has decamped, but the traces of its spiritual spoliation are visible on every hand. Conspicuously, our contemporary Psychology has inherited from it a compromise conception of the human will, as if to say “yes” and “no,” asserting and denying its freedom in the very same breath.

And then we cannot help observing, that, on this whole subject of human responsibility there is everywhere an equivocating, half-hearted, hesitating tone. A moral latitudinarianism pervades our literature, and the poets and romances cover up their libidinous optimism with the ingenious adornments of a cultivated style. The old reverence for the human soul, and for the guiding prerogatives of phenomenal personalities, has not, indeed, been lost entirely, but it has come to lack depth and fervor, the essential attitude of seriousness, on which the fundamental conceptions of our Christian consciousness must rest.

Again, but yesterday, we saw in the ascendant a new school of historians, who discarded the theory of great men in the progress of human affairs, and professed to see the “cosmic process” doing it all. Mr. Carlyle and Hugo, and men of that class, with their heroes and hero-worship, their prophets, their seers, their Cæsars, their Napoleons, their Luthers, their Cromwells, their Shakespeares, their Newtons—were simply near-sighted, in looking at the ever-unrolling panorama of human affairs, mistaking an

effect for a cause—these towering figures in history always reflecting but never deflecting, the current of their times. These epoch-making men did not sway and turn the social forces of their age and country, as the engineer cuts out a new channel for the flowing stream. They originated and determined nothing. They were always and only Punch and Judy—mere puppets, enacting their wonders in the illusive perspective of an ingeniously contrived mechanism, with the “cosmic process” pulling the strings.

But we must go on to say, that this condition of things reported itself most damagingly, perhaps, among the poets and preachers of our time, staunching the springs of inspiration for the poet, and rendering the message of the preacher hesitating and ill-timed.

As to our Helicon, its consecrated summits look to us deserted, and we too often hear about its base only the croaking of frogs. After Tennyson—we plead indulgence, if the animadversion may seem over-severe—we have been looking in vain for a seer whose singing would catch the ear of the world. Their lyres are all strung with flaxen tow. They falter, and stammer, and simper, and fumble, never striking a true note, unless, like Baalim, they are overtaken paroxysmally by the ideals of the newer time—the angel in armor blocking their way. It is no uncommon thing among the race of Lilliputian singers, to hear the great name of Shakespeare traduced, and along with him, Homer, and Dante, and Milton—all thrown down from their pedestals, because, beside the cosmic process, the personality of man has come to be regarded, in every phase of it, as a very insignificant thing.

But more than the poet, possibly, has the Christian preacher been seriously disarmed. The individualism of his religion—that is to say, its habit of attaching an infinite valuation to the human soul—has barely survived a siege, more desperate and more damaging than was ever before sustained; and he is puzzled, now, to know how he may set about rebuilding its crumbling walls. Too often he speaks with the accent of a defeated man, as the leader of a discouraged and ever-diminishing minority, whose business it is to save his miserable residue against the spirit of the age. And then there came, rushing around the very altars at which he ministered, a deluge of what we may call socialism, materialistic socialism, the kind that hoots at the idea of

a personal God, and makes almost nothing of the personality of man. That flood has receded, thank God, but the sacred precincts are everywhere visibly begrimed with mud.

Right here, the social aspects of our topic open up, and there is an emergency resting on us, to look well after the fortunes of the ethical will. The political philosophy of our day has a powerful trend the other way. It has come to be the watchword of certain vociferous agitators, in their cry for reform, that "individualism" is the bane of our age; they holding, meantime, to a very ambiguous conception of what the evil they deprecate really is. "Every man for himself, and devil take the hindmost"—that is individualism, as it rests in the popular mind. All forms of selfishness; the spirit that gets all it can, and keeps what it gets; in business; in politics; in all the branches of commerce and trade; in religion, also, where the interests of the sect and shibboleth circumscribe and absorb the highest aspiration and zeal of the devotee—this is individualism in the language of the street. And substantially that it is, in the concrete forms in which we see it at work, in all the social relations of life. But the reformer and philosopher must consider it in its deeper roots.

Beyond all question individuality in itself is the highest good of man; the value of all values; the stamp, the matrix, the insignia of all good, without which the term itself would be maudlin on our lips. Always there is with all of us the conscious "self," which must be looked after and loved, if needs be, at the neglect of everything else, since everything else gets significance and value with reference to this.

Self-love! It is elemental. It is at the heart of all we are, and of all we may have it in our power to become. It is not conceivable that there would be anything doing here, on this terrestrial ball, without a tide of self-love to originate and push it on—something like the heaving of the sea. It gets up with us in the morning, and keeps close with us all day long. It insinuates itself into every thought we entertain; every movement we make; every syllable that drops from our lips. Indeed it is a sure sign of disease, as pathologists are constantly reminding us, when the fires of self-love are burning low in the bosom of the disappointed one, or the one who, by habitual wrong-doing to himself, has dealt a fatal blow to his own life, even in this its primal source. Disease! disease! that is, indeed, the diagnosis

of the suicidal act—the unfortunate victim has ceased to love himself.

Therefore we urge, that self-love is fundamental and organic in the constitution of the human soul. Let us seek an analogy somewhere in nature, that will make this plain, for it is a point we cannot overlook. At the heart of the vascular system of yonder tree is the pith, the capillary channel along which the chemistries of the soil pump up their vital sap, for universal distribution to the farthest off interlacing of branches and spray—symbol, most impressive, of the function of self-love in the spiritual nature of man.

But herein is our warning: Not self-love, but *inordinate* self-love, is the moral mildew of our life—that habit of soul that casuists have labelled the “isolating self.” It is a perverse disposition in human nature to be absorbed in self, to such a point of exclusiveness as to make everything divine and human tributary to it—everything that may be made to yield to the humoring and hammering of the will. I! I! I!—it is not simple egoism, in the sense of inordinate self-conceit, the infirmity of which we complain. It is an evil—not an infirmity—the practical evil, that makes itself felt in the manifold forms of selfish domination and wrong-doing, with which society is permeated, and which will often enough build itself up into corporate organizations and trusts. In this way the individual, intent on his own aggrandizement, cuts himself off—or imagines he cuts himself off—from everything human and divine. It is the spirit mythologically imaged in the old Lucifer myth, the son of the morning venturing in his wicked audacity, to push the Almighty from His throne, and to ride over every right of brother man, for money, for power, for anything that will minister to the surfeiting satisfactions of self.

We may be puzzled to know how this condition of things comes about—how self-love should inflate itself to the extent of putting itself up against the moral order of the world. It is a fact, however, once for all, an astounding and an appalling fact—a mystery, if you please, but nevertheless an intelligible and an intrusive fact. Some light, and no little consolation, we are led to believe, may be derived from an inquiry, patiently and thoughtfully instituted, into what this thing is, which we call our “con-

scious self"—what it should mean for us, when we get it up close to our view.

It is to be regretted that, in this business, we are to have no assistance from the New Psychology of our day. Every now and then we are invited to some new line of discovery its experts have opened out, creating the impression, that the center of our being has at last been successfully reached. We hasten to see, but we come away, always, with the conviction deepened, that we are dealing with a problem to which its gross materialistic formula will not apply. We instinctively turn to our older metaphysics—that uncaged eagle with the broken wing. We can see no reason why we should not let the old Greek philosopher, Heraclitus speak for us, he who refused to be the chief magistrate of his city of Ephesus, because the morals of its citizens were hopelessly bad—a circumstance assuring enough, that he had not lost faith in the moral order of the world.

He believed, as we do now—our personal conviction herein cordially avowed—that there is a "*universal self*," originally inosculated and intertwined with every finite self of man—falling short of our point of view only, in conceiving self as "*reason*" (logos), reason being always the largest word in the philosophical vocabulary of the Greek. One time, when deploring the social ravages of individualism—an evil afflicting democratic institutions, it would seem, 600 years B. C., as it does with us now—he expressed himself in these remarkable words: "Though reason (let us substitute "self") is universal, the mass of men live as if each had a private reason (selfhood) of his own"—desponding in tone, we observe, but it is the "Weeping Philosopher," we should remember, who is uttering this lament. His central idea we do not fail to catch. It is as if he had said: The isolating self is the source of all our social woe, living, planning, grasping, enjoying, as if there were no other self in the world, and deliberately oblivious of the universal self, which is the common creative background for every highest and humblest soul of man, wherever found.

"The universal individual"—let us familiarize our minds with the use of that phrase. It breathes of the schools, we grant, and it carries a weight of paradox with it that is not always easy to be borne, but among all the subtlest resources of terminology accessible to us, that will help us to the idea we wish to convey,

there is none more convenient or more expressive than this. Here, as elsewhere, we can help the helper by bringing in analogy, with its manifold lenses of reflected and refracted light, relieving the paradox where it cannot be wholly adjourned.

Conceive of a sculptured hero in bass-relief, on some ancient temple frieze, the Parthenon, for example; let us imagine it becoming self-conscious, all at once, with the wealth of cultured assurance that characterized the mature Greek mind; though stone itself, it is able to know itself as, in some sense, free from its background of stone. Let us suppose, further, that, to the right and to the left of it, within reaching contiguity, it discovers other heroes in the same environment, and alike conscious of a relative emancipation from their matrix of stone. Now, one step more—let us see this stony consciousness becoming so self-centered, and so gorged with the satisfactions of its new order of life, that it will repudiate the background from which it came, and will treat its hero-neighbors as so many cobblestones to be trampled under foot. There we have it. The allegory gives us the “universal individual” for background, and the hero-environment as the arena of the ethical will—thus differentiating the sphere of religion and ethics in this complex spiritual organization of ours, which we call the soul.

But exactly at this point our way is waylaid, by a species of illusory mysticism, which is almost certain to intrude. Both in religion and in science, a kind of crude pantheism waves to us a welcome over vast expanses of illuminated mist. It is a siren song it sings; come this way, and be at peace. There is no reality, it says, about that which renders existence a prolonged and triturating fret; a failure; an abortion; a fiasco, in a universe where no fiasco has standing room to be. Picking at our allegory, it insists, that it is an illusion and a delusion to think of a conscious hero in bass-relief. There are no living figures on the temple frieze; no men and women whose chief glory it will be, to have lived themselves into harmony with their environment—an environment which in very truth does not exist. The background! The background—that is all there is; what we call reality is limited to this. Therefore to be serious as to individuality, to set it down as something that really exists, is to give ourselves over, helplessly, to be duped by a lie.

Occasionally, from some aspects of this subject, we feel like

taking alarm. The Oriental religions and philosophies, in their more speculative bearings, have been caught in this whirl, exhausting their subtlest resources of thought and expression, to get the theory of "*illusion*" installed over all the deepest and most sacred convictions of men, and make it their primary religious duty, to crush out the sentiment of individuality, as the colossal fallacy that has, somehow, thrown its shadow over the thinking world. It is a large movement, with the prestige of antiquity behind it, and takes in a wide swath of the Oriental peoples, who are noted for their profound, but dreamy, subtlety of thought. In these days of the study of Comparative Religions, we are able more intelligently than formerly and more justly, we believe, to estimate the logical texture and practical workings of all forms of religious *nihilism* in the Eastern world. It will suffice to say, here and now in passing, that they are all ascetic in their style of devotion, which carries with it the implication, that they are essentially crippled and impoverished on their ethical side.

It is a curious fact, however, that we must every now and then witness the paroxysmal outburst of this same thing in our Western world. In certain Occidental circles, where scientific pantheism has blazed the way, the same metaphysical vagary has been systematically installed, more recently, in our own country, in the garb of a religion, professing to bring healing and comfort to the sons of affliction, through these old delapidated doors of nihilism painted anew. Of course, it is a cause forlorn. The plant is exotic, and will not flourish in the intellectual climate of our Western skies. The hands of the mightiest gardeners have labored disappointingly at the task, and, after Spinoza, none but a charlatan would ever think of entering the same field, with the same impossible experiment to be tried over again.

Just to think of working a miracle on that which has been thought away! We are enjoined to bring a "truth" into consciousness wherewith to unloose the clutches of disease, which truth, by supposition, has no individual consciousness into which to come, and, by inference, must float out of a region of abstraction, where there was no primordeal consciousness to give it birth. O, reason, whither hast thou flown, and how many buffetings of blind absurdity canst thou endure?

But hush! We must ourselves deal tenderly and rationally

with the manifold quirks and febrilities of sentiment, which are seriously troubling the mind of our restive age. In this spirit we must repeat with emphasis that individuality is the highest good of man; that any systematic raid on it, is subversive of the very foundations on which human society and history rest. When individuality goes, everything else goes; the moral world becomes itself a fatuous and flitting dream, and after that, the universe reduces itself to one monstrous jumble of commingled irony and sham. Let us be on our guard. If it is not the final philosophy, it is by all odds the safest and sanest, that all creation finds its proximate goal in the individuality and history of man; and that self-mastery, and not self-vivisection, is the specific remedy for all our social ills—that is to say, the way in which the evils of humanity, singly and in masses, are to be thrown off.

But now we have mentioned the moral world. The thing is not conceivable, except in the exercise of the ethical will. And then when we open the door of the will, we find ourselves in the audience chamber of conscience, a tribunal before which all human wills are indictable, as before the bar of God. We cannot give up our old idea of conscience, as something inalienable in man, a moral magnetic needle, that points directly and always toward God and the good. We own, that our contemporary pragmatism has loosened up many of the rigid fastenings, by which the old view held its place in our minds. But all in all we find it still with us, with its pristine authority essentially unimpaired. In vain have the adverse schools of our day attempted to reduce it to something else; to cut it up into bits; to analyze it down into some neutral atom of sentiment, in which no categorical imperative should be found. Every such venture has failed. It was apparent, always, that a clinic of that kind was possible only when the subject was dead. The judge must be dragged down from his tribunal and killed in cold blood, before the process of logical dissection could even begin.

We conclude, therefore, that conscience is something inalienable and elemental in the human soul; that it is, somehow, as the ancient Romans would have it, *Deus in nobis*, a faculty altogether clothed with the majesty and authority of God. Therefore we venture to see, in it, this moral nature of ours *sub specie aeternitatis*, the measure, that is to say, of the divine solicitude

in its behalf. For we must observe, that conscience calls into play countless outside agencies, and interpositions, and helps, to keep us instructed in the right, and to hold back our unwary feet from ways that are wrong. There are churches, and Bibles, and schools, and laws, and sciences, and literatures, and customs—all art and all nature, when rightly directed, yield themselves to the same end, to keep the soul headed toward that which is highest and worthiest in human purpose and life. God prompting within, and extending a helping hand all round the outside goings of the man—this is conscience as it is in our day, most adequately conceived.

Take a case. A man of recognized ability and character is entrusted with the responsibilities of a high office in business life, or in the affairs of State. There is money involved; money and mammon; the subtle whisperings of avarice, as to where he might avail himself of surreptitious profits, if he should venture on certain questionable, but not unmanageable risks. The tempter is at his ear. He is the custodian of other men's funds. If he oversteps the lawful use of those funds, to the right or to the left, to the measure of a hair, he is consenting to theft, even if the peculation should never be known. On the threshold of such a suggestion, conscience puts its trumpet to its mouth, and makes the whole soul of that man reverberate with the blast. Accustomed to heed its warning, he may gird himself with resolution, at this particular moment, and fling the temptation aside.

But the situation is a new one, and the furnaces of cupidity within him never before burned with fires so fierce. He will think it over again; he will consult precedent; he will make himself a frequent advocate in the court of lies. Meantime the trumpet of conscience is sounding feebler and farther away, muffled, hesitating, with longer and longer intervals for any note at all—while his evil purpose is quickening into action, just in proportion as those admonitory echoes die away. In this condition of things, let us observe the attitude of his mind. His inference may very well be, that the heavens are becoming cowardly; or, possibly, that, what he aforesaid thought to be a divine monitor in the soul, has turned out to be nothing more than a simple, sentimental, caprice. Else why should it be baffled—driven into silence by such a puny thing as an ob-

stinate human will? More than likely, he will meet the emergency by becoming philosopher and sceptic, and boldly make mouths at the moral world. Ha! ha! he says, conscience failed. By assumption clothed with the might and majesty of God, it did, as a matter of fact, take down its trumpet from its lips, and veil its dumb oracles in impenetrable cloud.

But at this juncture, we are to see the circumventing arm of conscience, reaching for the man in its outside ministration in the grosser world. The reason is, the man is a denizen of two worlds, an outside and an inside world; and, as a free being, he must be in absolute equilibrium between the moral solicitations coming from both sides. Money, gain, the dazzle of riches, and the social prestige and power that these have always in their train—there they are; yonder; pushing from the outside; the signing of a check will open the door. No, not unless the money-lust inside has first put its hand deliberately on the latch of that door; not until cupidity will take up the pen, and sign that check. Outside and inside must strike hands, or the temptation will have no inducement to advance its banner to where its victim is.

In like manner conscience, the inside tribunal, must have its outside administration, a system of co-ordinating warnings and restraints, that will press hard upon the heels of temptation while bombarding your door. There is the public—it has a thousand eyes; there is the police; the least leakage in your furtive proceedings may land you in jail. Then if you escape all that, the brand of suspicion may follow you, and there is no flame in hell more consuming, or less extinguishable, than the finger of scorn, burning all round you, in your going, with social contempt.

Further than this, there is the stamp of an indelible curse on all ill-gotten gain: the eumenides, like bloodhounds, are on the infallible scent of its most tortuous trail. Held long in the hand, money fraudulently obtained will burn to the bone. So uniformly do stolen riches roll up their harvest of merited misery in the shape of well deserved misfortune and social scorn, that we may put it down as an economic maxim, that “things ill-got have ever bad success.” But all these are the co-ordinating checks of conscience, working vigorously and vigilantly in

the outside world, to keep the tempted one from plunging into wrong. Or, rather we should say, they constitute the outdoor administration of conscience itself, setting up its curule chair on all the highways of the world, and in all the most secret haunts of men.

Well, then, what does all this mean? It means that good and evil forces have set up their conflicting banners on the battlefield of the soul—the eternities on the one side, and the appetites and passions that debase, on the other, with the contingency of an equilibrated will in between. Ah me! what will be the issues of that fight? If conscience be God sweeping all round the imperiled soul, must it not be a cordon of rescue incapable of defeat? What is avarice, or concupiscence, or any evil, as against God? Sometimes we hear our speculative optimists descanting on evil as a very weak thing; an inflated negative; the shadow of the earth when its back is turned to the sun. They liken it to the withes round the limbs of Samson—a wrench of the giant's muscles, and they are gone.

But, alas! in practice this will not hold good. In spite of the utmost vigilance of the higher powers in and around the soul of man, set there for its defense in the hour of its peril, the tempted man will fall—evil solicitations will often gain the upper hand. The check is signed; all fears of God and the jail are quieted down; and conscience itself is throttled on its throne. What shall we say to this? Evil was not, indeed, the eagle's feather dropped on the boiling flood, while the proud bird itself was swooping the wide heavens defiant of the storm. But we should know that there is no such thing as abstract evil in the world; nor is there abstract good—these things conceived as impersonal forces, fighting in their own name.

To think so is to lose the key altogether of the moral world. At the center of this is the ethical will; the man, let us say; you and I, walking, and toiling, and suffering, and hoping, on the borderland between two worlds, with the issues of destiny wrapt up in the disposition we may make of our opportunities and powers, we, meantime, as free beings, held always in absolute equilibrium between the good and the bad, with the awful prerogative of yielding our preponderance either way. And so, in this way, it is no unmeaning admonition, no unwarranted assumption, that every man has his destiny in his own hands; and

that the universe is rightfully complacent in the human personality, as the consummate, crowning, product of the creative goodness of God.

Tacoma, Washington.

ARTICLE V.

STUDIES IN THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS.

BY LUCY FORNEY BITTINGER.

The lives of the saints are unfamiliar ground to most Protestants; and yet it seems we neglect a means of edification by not studying them. The Egyptian hermit, Anthony, said to his novices: "Remember the works of the saints, in order to have the soul attuned to emulate them." Granted, that there are many dull and worthless tales among the lives; many incredible ones also, many roughly but well described by Luther as containing "gräulich viel Unflath"—and yet he admitted that use might be made of "the good Christian legends." There are also many beautiful and edifying histories. The stories often throw light on past ages of the Church and the world. We can learn how men and women, in far-off times and places, after a fashion not our own, served their day and generation and fell on sleep. Their story is, what George Eliot called the Imitation of Christ, "the voice of a brother who, ages ago, felt and suffered and renounced—in the cloister, perhaps, with serge gown and tonsured head, with much chanting and long fasts, and with a fashion of speech different from ours—but under the same silent, far off heavens, and with the same passionate desires, the same strivings, the same failures, the same weariness."

Many lives of the saints are chiefly the record of their deaths—those "Acts" which, in the later ages of persecution, the Church employed a special official—the notary—to preserve; and they give us a momentary glimpse of a soldier, a courtier, a great lady, a simple slave-girl or little child as "the athlete of Christ" stands before his judges or lies praying upon the rack or is bruised by the teeth of lions into the bread of God. Says Dr. Arnold: "Divide the sum total of reported martyrs by twenty—by fifty if you will; after all, you have a number of persons of all ages and sexes suffering cruel torments and death for conscience's sake and for Christ's; and by their sufferings manifestly with God's blessing insuring the triumph of Christ's Gospel..... God's grace

enabled rich and delicate persons, women and even children, to endure all extremities of pain and reproach."

Numbers of these saints lived and died in the centuries before the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches, many long before the Reformation, and so belong equally to Protestant and to Catholic, to all who would think on those things that are lovely and of good report. In choosing a few examples from the Hagiography for our consideration the rule of selection has been to give the preference—without reciting the facts, which should be familiar—to the Scriptural Saints; next to those of apostolic and primitive times; then to mention those who are found in Protestant calendars, and those whose fame is wide-spread. The chief authority followed has been Baring-Gould's "*Lives of the Saints.*" This article makes no pretension to be the product of deep study or research; yet such as was necessary has been pleasant and profitable to the writer and it is hoped the results may be to others.

Let us take up the calendar for July. On the first are commemorated the Old Testament saints Aaron and Miriam, the heroic Queen Esther, and, coming further down to the Christian era, the Egyptian hermit Pambo, of whom are recorded many wise sayings: thus, two brothers spent their fortune in different ways—one became an anchorite in the desert, the other built hospitals and convents; when both died the monks of Pambo's monastery disputed which was the more perfect and appealed to him: "Both," said he, "were perfect before God; there are many roads to perfection, besides that which leads through the desert cell." Seeing an actress performing in Alexandria, Pambo burst into tears: "Alas!" said he, "how much less do I labor to please God than does this poor girl to delight the eyes of men." A brother said once to him, "How is it that the Divine Spirit never allows me to be charitable?" "Don't say the Divine Spirit," said the abbot impatiently, "say, 'I don't want to be charitable.' " When Pambo lay a-dying he said, "I thank God that not a day of my life has been spent in idleness," and then, "I thank God that I do not recall any bitter speech I have made for which I ought to repent now."

July 2nd is the festival of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary to Elizabeth.

On the 3rd is commemorated Hyacinth, a Christian chamber-

lain to the Emperor Trajan, who was cast into a dungeon on the discovery that he was a Christian and his jailer commanded to serve him with food offered to idols, only; this Hyacinth refused. When dying, his persecutors relented and ordered other food given him; but the martyr was unable to swallow and died from inanition.

On the 4th of July is commemorated, besides the prophets Hosea and Haggai, the Greek bishop Andrew of Crete, best known to us by his Lenten hymn: "Christian, dost thou see them;" and upon the 6th, the prophet Isaiah.

On July 7th, Willibald the Apostle of Franconia, is commemorated; he was an Englishman, a "passionate pilgrim" who spent most of his life wandering from one holy place to another—from Rome to the Holy Land, thence to Constantinople; was for years an inmate of the famous Benedictine Monastery of Monte Cassino, and then answered the appeal of his kinsman Boniface for his assistance in the conversion of the Germans. Willibald spent the evening of his wandering and adventurous life in successful labors among the Franconians and died full of years and honors as bishop of Eichstadt.

Priscilla and Aquila are commemorated on the 8th; and another British apostle to the heathen Franks, Kilian, an Irish monk who settled at Würzburg in the 7th century, converted Gozbert, Duke of Franconia and many of his subjects, and was finally assassinated under the orders of Gozbert's wife against whose marriage, as within the proscribed degrees, Kilian had protested.

On July 10th Rufina and Secunda, two Roman maidens, are remembered; they were betrothed to Christian youths who, in the persecution of Decius, renounced their faith to save their lives; but their more courageous brides having had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, sealed their confession with their blood.

Mnason, the old disciple, honorably mentioned as the host of St. Paul, is remembered on July 12, and to the same date is assigned John Gualberto, the Florentine nobleman who, intent on revenging his brother's death, met upon the road on Good Friday, that brother's murderer; the man, extending his arms in the form of a cross, besought Gualberto to spare him for the sake of Him who that day hung upon the cross; weeping, Gualberto granted the plea and, rushing to the church at San Min-

iato and kneeling before the crucifix still shown there, believed that the figure upon it bowed its head in blessing on his forgiveness of the fratricide.

On July 13th the prophets Joel and Ezra are remembered, and Silas (or Silvanus), the fellow-missionary of St. Paul; and also Sara, a holy abbess of the Lybian desert, tempted for many years by impure thoughts; at length she saw the filthy spirit glide from her cell, hissing, "Thou hast conquered me, Sara." "Not I," answered Sara, promptly, "but Christ that worketh in me!"

July 14th is dedicated to the memory of Bonaventura—saint, cardinal, bishop, Franciscan monk, "Seraphic Doctor" of the Church, hymn-writer; of him the story is told that when the papal nuncios came to offer him the cardinal's red hat, they found the saint washing dishes—for he took all the menial duties of the convent when they fell to his turn—"Hang the hat on this dogwood tree which overshadows the kitchen door," said Bonaventura, "I would only soil it with my greasy fingers."

On July 15th is commemorated the so-called Separation of the Apostles, when as Rufinus says, "being about to depart from each other, they first appointed themselves a rule, mutually for their future preaching, lest, separated in different directions, any of them perchance should expound anything differently to those whom they invited to the faith of Christ. Assembled in one place and filled with the Holy Ghost, they compiled this brief token (the Apostle's Creed) for themselves of their future preaching, by throwing together what each thought himself." On the same day the Greek Church remembers Vladimir, the prince who forcibly introduced Christianity into Russia—a dark and ferocious "apostle." But no apology is needed for Speratus and his companion martyrs (July 17); they were Christians of Carthage whose simple and touching acts have been preserved and tell us how the consul said to Speratus: "Do you preserve in being a Christian?" Speratus answered, "I do persevere. Hear all present! I am a Christian." Then all the rest joined in and said, "We are all of us Christians." The proconsul said, "What! have you no desire to be released?" "Do what you will with us," answered Speratus, "there is no release from duty." The proconsul ordered them to be decapitated. Now when this sentence was read, Speratus and those who were with him, said, "We give thanks to God, who has deigned this day to call us martyrs to

heaven through the confession of His name." Having said this, they were led forth, and having knelt down, their heads were struck off, one after another. "And," say the Acts, "these martyrs died on the 17th day of July, and intercede for us with the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honor and glory, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, through ages of ages. Amen."

Arnulf, bishop of Metz, (July 18th), was a Frankish nobleman, courtier and learned man; from his younger son were descended the Carlovingian kings. But Arnulf earnestly desired—and no wonder—to leave the blood-stained court of Clothair and Fredegunde and to "make his soul" in solitude; after his election to the see of Metz, he begged permission of the king to retire from the cares and duties of his bishopric and finally, though Clothair threatened the lives of Arnulf's sons and drew his sword on the bishop himself, obtained his request and died in a monastery of the Vosges Mountains.

Epaphras, "the faithful minister of Christ" in Colosse, is commemorated on the same day, July 19th, with Vincent de Paul—the "poor swineherd's son," as he called himself when the Prince of Conde rose in his presence, but the introducer of what Germans call "Inner Mission" work into the Catholic Church, the founder of that great and noble order, the Sisters of Charity, the beginner 300 years ago, of organized charity—the Fliedner of his day and Church.

The prophet Elijah of the old dispensation, and Joses Barsabas—the disciple passed over in the election of Matthias, but not neglected by the memory of the Church—are assigned to July 20th; and on the next day is remembered Daniel the prophet, and Barhadbesciabas—"a harsh name but written in the Lamb's Book of Life"; he was a Persian deacon who, under the torture of the rack, said to the judge: "Neither you nor your king, nor any manner of torments shall ever be able to separate me from the love of Jesus. Him alone have I served from my infancy to this old age." The governor at length condemned him to be beheaded, and commanded an apostate Christian to be his executioner. The holy deacon stood bound waiting with hope for the happy moment when he should enter into the joy of his Lord. The apostate trembled so as not to be able to give the blow steadily; he struck seven times at the martyr's neck. The holy

deacon fell forward and expired.—So run the Chaldaic Acts of the fourth century.

Mary Magdalene, as Scriptural character, but much more as legendary penitent, is remembered on July 22nd; and on the next day, a young paralytic nun, Romula, who bore her long affliction with perfect resignation, praying to God and singing His praises.

The commemoration of James the Great (July 25th), is universal in Greek, Roman and Protestant Churches; a story of his martyrdom, preserved by Clement, tells us that his accuser was so moved by St. James' constancy that he also became a Christian and the two were executed together; on their way to death the informer asked the Apostle's forgiveness, whereupon St. James paused, said "Peace be to thee," and gave his companion the Christian's kiss of peace.

The next day commemorates Anna, the legendary mother of the Virgin; Erastus, the disciple of St. Paul; and Christopher, whose legend if without foundation of fact, is edifying and beautiful. This giant desired to serve the greatest prince of the world, and a hermit taught him—"Since thou wilt neither fast nor pray, go to that river, and use thy strength to aid those who struggle with the stream. It may be that this good work shall prove acceptable to Jesus Christ, whom thou desirest to serve; and that he may manifest himself to thee!" To which Christopher replied joyfully, "This I can do. It is a service that pleases me well!" One night he was called across the river several times and at length he beheld a little child, who entreated him, saying, "Christopher, carry me over this night." And the giant lifted the child on his strong shoulders and entered the stream. And the waters rose higher and higher, the waves roared, the winds blew; and the infant on his shoulders became heavier and heavier, till it seemed to him that he must sink under the weight, and he began to fear; but he at length reached the opposite bank; and when he had laid the child down, safely and gently, he said, "Who art thou, child, that hast placed me in such extreme peril? Had I carried the whole world on my shoulders, the burden had not been heavier!" And the child replied, "Wonder not, Christopher, for thou hast not only borne the world, but Him who made the world, on thy shoulders. Me

wouldst thou serve in this thy work of charity; and behold, I have accepted thy service.”

July 27th, we have in remembrance of the Spanish martyrs: Aurelius, Sabagotha, Felix and Lilirosa; these were all concealed Christians, but on persecution arising, could no longer deny their secret faith and so, after Aurelius had placed his two little daughters in Christian hands, had provided by the sale of his possessions for their maintenance, and had kissed them a last farewell, he, with a monk who had joined them, professed their faith and were rewarded with the crown of martyrdom.

The 29th has been dedicated to Martha of Bethany; and to Beatrix, a Roman maiden whose brothers were martyred and whose heathen kinsman desired her property; so, as she refused to adore the idols, he had her strangled in a cellar by his slaves.

During the Diocletian persecution, in Northern Africa, two virgin sisters, Maxima and Donatilla, were apprehended and as the soldiers drove them with insults along the road to the court, a girl of twelve, looking from her window, called to them to allow her to join them and so gave herself up to the soldiers to be taken to judgment and death. After the two noblewomen had been tortured and racked, the judge was told of this girl, whereupon he ordered the three virgins to be despatched with the sword. On the same day, July 30th, is celebrated the passion of Julitta, a wealthy lady of Cesarea, from whom a powerful man took by violence some of her property; the magistrate to whom Julitta appealed, ordered the Christian lady to sacrifice some grains of incense to Zeus; she declared that she would rather yield her estates and life than thus imperil her soul, so she was burnt to death. Basil the Great—a child in Cesarea at the time of the martyrdom—has handed down these facts to us.

Germanus (or Germain), who died bishop of Auxerre, began life as a careless and warlike nobleman, wont to dedicate his trophies of the chase to Odin, for heathenism still lingered on in France. But after his election as bishop, he was an example to all prelates in his devotion to his diocese. He several times visited England on missionary journeys and spread the faith there. On his return to France, he was met by a deputation of the Armoricans who begged him to save them from the vengeance of Eocaric, chief of the Alemanni; the old bishop went to meet Eocaric and when the barbarian would have pushed by, caught

the bridle and, clinging to the rearing horse while Eocarie strove to spur it on, forced the chief to stop and listen to and accept his plea, on condition that Germain should obtain pardon for the Armoricans from the emperor. It was while on this errand to the court at Ravenna, that Germain said one day after matins: "My brethren, I recommend my passage to your prayers. I saw this night my Saviour, who gave me provision for the journey and told me I was to go to my native country and receive eternal rest"—and this was fulfilled on the last day of July, 448.

August 1st has been from early times the festival of the first fruits of the harvest, observed in the Greek, Roman and Anglican Churches and in the last-named called Lammas (or Loaf-mass)—bread made from the new wheat being blessed that day. It is also the festival of St. Peter's Chains, commemorating his deliverance from prison in Jerusalem.

August 3rd is dedicated to Lydia, the first European convert of St. Paul; and the 4th, to Aristarchus, his companion and fellow-prisoner. On the same day Ia, a captive Greek woman, was slowly tortured to death in the persecution of Sapor, the Persian king, she meanwhile praying: "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, strengthen thy handmaiden in the conflict in which she is engaged, and save me from the wolves who rend my flesh."

August 5th: Afra, a courtesan of Augsburg, sheltered a Christian priest fleeing from persecution; she was accused before the magistrate of having assisted in the escape of a Christian and of being one herself. "How," said the judge, "do you, a sinful woman, expect to be accepted by the God of the Christians?" "It is true," said Afra meekly, "I am unworthy to be called a Christian; nevertheless, He who did not reject Mary Magdalene will not reject me." She was condemned to be burnt alive; and praying, "O Thou, who didst call, not the righteous, but the erring, to repentance and who hast promised that even at the eleventh hour Thou wouldst receive the sinner who called upon Thee, accept of my penitence and let the torments I am to suffer be an expiation of my sin, that through this temporal fire I may be delivered from the eternal fire," she died with constancy for her new faith.

August 6th: the festival of the Transfiguration, called in the Greek Church the Feast of Tabor.

August 7th: the name of Jesus was honored on this day in

the Anglican Church long before the Reformation; also Claudia, a Roman Christian matron, who saluted Timothy from there in St. Paul's epistle and who is thought to have been a British hostage, the daughter of Caractacus.

August 8th: Hormisdas, a Persian nobleman, was degraded by the king from his rank and forced to become a camel-driver; but when the royal persecutor, pitying Hormisdas when he saw him one day dusty, sunburnt and toil-worn, sent him a tunic, with the message, "Abandon the Carpenter's Son," Hormisdas rejected the gift, replying, "Not for the sake of a tunic; take back your gift, Sire;" so the resolute confessor was banished.

August 10th is St. Lawrence's Day, and on the previous day is commemorated Romanus, one of his guards who was converted by seeing Lawrence's conduct in prison; the story of the heroic Roman deacon who perished rather than give up the treasures of the Church and who even jested at the torments he suffered, is well known.

August 12th: Clara, a nobly-born and beautiful girl of Assisi, was so influenced by the preaching and example of Francis that she ran away from her home and forced Francis to give her the veil; she afterwards became the head of the female branch of his order, called, from her, the "poor Clares."

August 13th: Radegund the Queen, who fled from Clothair's cruelty and neglect to become a deaconess and for whom the hymn "Vexilla Regis" was written, is commemorated on this day; but another woman of the same name and day is a more touching example. Radegund the Virgin was a poor Suabian maid-servant who employed her scanty leisure in succoring some wretched lepers who lived near her master's farm; one wild winter night, going on her errand of mercy, she was attacked by wolves; her cries for help were drowned by the storm and in the morning but a few bones and torn rags of clothing remained to tell the fate of this humble martyr of charity.

August 14th: Micajah, son of Imlah, prophet in Samaria.

August 15th, the "Repose of the Virgin," as the Greek Church calls it—her heavenly birthday—is remembered upon this day.

August 16th: Diomedes, a physician and native of St. Paul's city, Tarsus, was accused to Diocletian as a Christian; on his way in fetters to the court at Nicomedia, he was taken ill, and asked his captors to let him alight from their chariot; he had but

strength to kneel and in that posture died—probably of heart disease. Arsacius, a hermit and confessor, who lived near that same city, received a revelation regarding the approaching destruction of Nicomedia; his warning to the people was unheeded and he threw himself on his face that he might not see the desolation of that place where he had first known Christ; after the earthquake, Arsacius was found in this attitude, dead.

Of Mammas (August 17), all that is known is that he was a little shepherd-boy, twelve years old, who was stoned to death for the faith; but that little the Church has remembered for more than 1600 years.

On August 19th is commemorated that “Apparition of the Cross” to Constantine—whenever and wherever it occurred—which led him finally to place the cross on the Roman standards and to make Christianity the religion of the empire.

On August 20th two prophets are remembered: Samuel, of the old dispensation and Bernard of Clairvaux, who might be called a prophet of the new, yet who, in the midst of his successes and honor—“when he was a chosen vessel, and announced the name of Christ among nations and kings; when the princes of this world bowed down to him, and the bishops of all lands awaited his bidding; when even the Holy See revered his advice, and made him a sort of general legate to the world;..he was never puffed up... Whatsoever he did he ascribed to God.” He it was that preached the Crusade with such convincing eloquence that there arose but one shout from his hearers: “God wills it! God wills it!”

August 22nd: Symphorian, a young nobleman of Gaul, was so incensed at the worship offered by the inhabitants to a rude idol that he tried to destroy the image. Brought before the governor, he confessed his Christian faith and was condemned to decapitation. When he was led forth to death, his mother, standing on the city walls to see him pass, cried to him, “My son, my son Symphorian: remember the living God and be of good courage. Raise your heart to heaven and consider Him that reigneth there. Fear not death which leads to certain life.”

On the 23rd of August, 285, in Cilicia, three young men, two women and a little child were brought before the pro-consul, scourged and tortured in every possible way to make them deny their Lord. The men, after enduring frightful torments, died

triumphantly; then Domina, one of the women, was scourged to death and the aged widow, Theonilla, was told: "You have seen the flames and tortures with which the others have been punished; honor the gods and sacrifice." When the pro-consul ordered her stripped for scourging, Theonilla said: "Shame on you; is it not enough that you have stripped me naked? It is not me only that you have injured, but your mother and your wife, who are put to confusion in my person." . . . The executioner said, "My lord, she is now dead," and her body, with those of the others, was thrown into the river.

August 24th: Bartholomew the Apostle, of whom so little is known that legend has rushed in to supply the place of facts with conjectures and mistakes.

August 25th, "On a certain day when Diocletian the Emperor was in Rome, Genes, the actor, was performing before him." He acted the part of a sick man who desired Christian baptism, and after burlesquing the sacrament, the actor was threatened in jest with martyrdom. But here the play ended; for Genes avowed that, while engaged in this blasphemy, the recollections of childhood—his parents were Christians—rose in his mind and he made a real renunciation of idolatry as he entered the water. Diocletian angrily bade him cease jesting; but Genes renewed his Christian profession and on the rack declared "There is no king but Him whom I adore. His I am and His I shall be. Bitterly do I repent that I know Him only so late." So Genes was beheaded and received the crown of martyrdom.

On the same day is commemorated King Louis IX of France, the saintly Crusader who died amid the plague-stricken wreck of his army at Tunis, murmuring, "We will go to Jerusalem." But it was to the heavenly Jerusalem that he was about to journey.

August 27th: the Ethiopian Eunuch baptized by Philip; and Poemen (or Pastor), an Egyptian hermit, "the chief of the solitaries, the prince of the desert"—who began his religious life as a harsh and self-righteous ascetic, but mellowed into a man whom another distressed anchorite, whom he had taken much trouble to visit and console, called "indeed a *pastor*, a shepherd of the flock of Jesus." A monk said to him, "Those young novices do not keep awake during the offices in the church at night; shall I go around and shake them?" "Poor fellows,"

said Poemen, "do nothing of the kind. When I see their sleepy heads droop, I wish I might spread out my lap and let the heads lie easy on it, that they might sleep in peace." He was told of a woman who lived in sin but was very charitable to the poor. "Do not be afraid," said Poemen, "she will serve God in the end." The woman came to see Poemen; his gentleness and charity won her from her sins; she entered a convent and lived a holy life.

August 28th: Augustine, the great Church Father, whose marvellous "Confessions" have made his soul-life a reality to readers even of this far-distant day.

August 29th is the anniversary of the beheading of John the Baptist, in Herod's gloomy fortress on the Dead Sea.

August 30, Felix, a Roman priest, was taken in the Diocletian persecution and condemned to death. As he was led to execution, he was met by a stranger, a Christian, who cried out: "I also confess the same law as this man—the same Jesus Christ; and I am ready to lay down my life in witness of these truths." He was seized, led before the magistrate, sentenced, and the two martyrs were beheaded together. The name of the stranger was never ascertained; he was therefore called Adauctus, or "one who joined himself" to the martyr, Felix.

August 31: Aidan, the monk of Iona, sent as a missionary to the rough heathen Northumbrians, found them that hardest problem—a relapsed, once Christian folk, and recovered them from their backsliding, educated their youth, redeemed captives, went on unwearied missionary journeys up and down the land. "Aidan was," says Bede, "a pontiff inspired with a passionate love of goodness, but at the same time full of a surpassing gentleness and moderation." When his king, Oswald, was killed and the land ravaged by the invading Mercians, Aidan sickened and died, "under a tent hastily pitched to shelter him at the back of a church he had just built, his head resting against a buttress—a death which became a soldier of the faith upon his field of battle."

On September 1st are commemorated Joshua, Gideon, and Anna the Prophetess; on the 3rd, Phoebe, the first deaconess of the Christian Church; on the 4th, Moses; and on September 6th the Prophet Zachariah.

September 7th: the grandsons of Clovis, king of the Franks,

were brought up by their grandmother Clotilda, in Paris; thither came the uncles of the young princes, rent them away from Clotilda under pretence of making them kings, then sent Clotilda a pair of shears and a sword, asking if she would that they be shorn as monks or put to death by the sword. To this the old queen answered, "I would rather know them dead than shorn." So Clothair slew two of the princes who clung imploringly to him; the third, Cloduald, was saved by some gallant men and, saddened by the horrors of his infancy, of his freewill entered religion and became a hermit and then the head of the monastery called after him, St. Cloud. There he died after not more than thirty-five years of life.

The Nativity of the Virgin Mary has been celebrated on September 8th since the fifth century; then also is commemorated the heroic young soldier Adrian, who, seeing some Christians tortured, was so impressed by their constancy, that he "desired to be numbered with these warriors of Christ;" and after enduring terrible tortures, during which his wife Natalia stood by him expired. Natalia died after a few months of widowhood, and the Church has very justly numbered her among its martyrs.

On September 10th is remembered Pulcheria, the wise, learned and virtuous lady, grand-daughter of Theodosius the Great, who governed the Eastern Empire and governed it well, for many years, during the minority of her feeble brother; on the 11th, Paphnutius, the Egyptian hermit and confessor, who prevented the council of Nicea from enforcing celibacy upon the clergy — "showing the rare excellence of honoring a state of life which was not his own."

Cyprian, the martyr-bishop of Carthage, sealed his testimony by his blood on the 14th of September, 258, as the touchingly simple account of his brave death, preserved to us in the proconsular Acts, tells us.

September 15th: Nicetas the Goth, a convert of Ulfilas, was flung into the burning ruins of his church where he sung hymns in the midst of the flames until his tongue was silenced by death.

September 16th: Euphemia, a maiden of Chalcedon, was arrested and tortured because she had not attended a pagan festival. She resisted every attempt to break down her resolution. "I am but a girl," she told the governor, "but the hand of my Saviour sustains me."

September 17th commemorates Hildegarde, that extraordinary Abbess of Rupertsberg, who appears amid the wars and bloodshed of medieval Germany, like Huldah the prophetess when the kingdom of Judah was tottering to its fall. Bishops and archbishops, princes temporal and spiritual, pope and emperors, St. Bernard of Clairvaux—all consulted her, revered her or felt the sting of her fearless denunciations of wrong-doing.

September 19th is dedicated to the remembrance of the erstwhile disobedient prophet Jonah, and of the Evangelist Matthew; and the next day (20th), to the memory of Maurice, the Christian soldier and his companions of the Theban legion, who met death rather than join in the customary sacrifice ordered by their heathen general before a campaign. Though the number of these martyrs may have been exaggerated, the story seems to be authentic.

Linus, to whom Irenaeus asserts that St. Peter and St. Paul committed the superintendence of the Roman Church and who was known to both Paul and Timothy, is remembered September 23rd; and upon the 25th, another Scriptural saint, Cleopas, one of those disciples who met the risen Christ in the walk to Emmaus.

Lioba (September 26th or 28th), was baptized Trutgeba, but this was supplanted by the affectionate title of "Lioba"—the dear one. She was a cousin of Boniface and during his missionary labors in Germany, he sent for the dear kinswoman, who lived and died, in great sanctity and affection, as abbess of a German convent.

On the 27th are remembered John Mark, the cousin of Barnabas, and companion of the apostles, whose early vacillation when with Paul was atoned for by later faithfulness to him; and the Arabian saints and physicians, Cosmos and Damian. It was upon the feast of these saints that Wenceslaus, the pious Christian king of Bohemia, visited the castle of his heathen brother Boleslas to be present at a feast and tournament. He was warned that Boleslas meditated treachery and might have suspected it, for Boleslas had already caused the murder of the saintly Ludmilla, the grand-mother of the two princes, who had brought up Wenceslaus in the Christian faith. But Wenceslaus went the next morning (September 28th, 938), unsuspectingly to mass, when his brother and his servants met and attacked

him. The king wrested the sword from Boleslas, crying, "God forgive you, my brother!" but was soon mortally wounded and fell dying at the church door. He is greatly honored throughout Germany, and the English ballad of "Good King Wenceslaus" keeps in mind one of the stories of his charity.

September 29th is very widely observed, as St. Michael and All Angels, throughout the Church in recognition of the ministering spirits; while September 30th keeps in memory the learned church father, Jerome—hermit, controversialist, and (most honorable title of all) translator of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, whence his version is called the Vulgate.

This rapid and necessarily incomplete review of a portion only of the Hagiography will give a better idea of the value of such a study than the selection of a few unusually interesting examples taken through the whole course of the year. It is offered in the hope that it may inspire others to studies which cannot fail to be interesting, instructive and spiritually profitable.

Sewickley, Pa.

ARTICLE VI.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I. IN ENGLISH.

BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

The inaugural address of Dr. Theo. F. Herman, the new professor of Systematic Theology in the Reformed Seminary at Lancaster, Pa., is published in the July number of *The Reformed Church Review*. His subject is "The Epistemological Problem of Theology"—the problem concerning the possibility and validity of religious knowledge. It is one of the tasks of the theologian "to demonstrate to the confusion of scientific materialism and to the satisfaction of a skeptical philosophy that their dogmatic exclusion of religious knowledge from the sphere of universal truth, and its relegation to the limbo of crass superstition or subjective delusion rest on an unscientific and unphilosophic synthetic judgment. This proof is of fundamental importance and constitutes the philosophical task of Christian theology in contradistinction from its dogmatic function." Dr. Herman believes that the theologian must take Kant as his starting point in the performance of this task, but that he must also advance beyond him.

L. Henry Schwab discusses in the July *Harvard Theological Review*, the question, "Is Christianity a Moral Code or a Religion?" He denies Prof. McGiffert's assertion that "to promote the reign of sympathy and service among men was the controlling purpose of Christ himself." He believes that for the student of the early literature there is only one answer possible to the question, and that is that Christianity is much more than humanitarianism. All the N. T. writings testify to "the spirituality of life." Of the modern humanitarian zeal he says, "It is a fine enthusiasm, but its one-sided ardor has narrowed its vision and has led it into serious misapprehensions. Its mistake is twofold. It fails to see that humanity presents deeper and more permanent questions to be solved than those of social im-

provement, and that Christianity is what it is to-day because it responds to the ultimate questions of life."

New Theology and Evolution receive some vigorous treatment at the hands of the editors of *The Missionary Review of the World* in the October number. "We believe," say they, "that any evolution which denies the direct creative work of God or affirms the descent of man from beasts, that any higher criticism which denies the infallibility of the Bible as God's revelation of Himself and the way of life to man, that any new theology which denies the essential deity of Jesus Christ or His atonement for sin as the only hope of salvation for man—we believe that these phases of modern thought are erroneous, are subversive of true spiritual life, and are preventative of any permanent work in upbuilding the kingdom of God."

The September number of the *Methodist Review* contains an article on "The Vatican's Attack on Methodism: A Reply to Archbishop Ireland" by R. J. Cooke. This attack was made by Ireland in the July number of the *North American Review*, of which our author says that for indignation and fury, abuse, sarcasm and cunning is hardly paralleled in American literature. The bitter quarrel between Methodism and Rome received public advertisement through the insolent demands of the Vatican on Ex-Vice President Fairbanks, and on Ex-President Roosevelt conditioning an audience with the pope on their practical ignoring of the Methodist Church in Rome. It seems to us that Ireland is left without ground to stand upon by the present article. At least Romanism is still the bitter, implacable foe of liberty of thought. Dr. Cooke utters this final challenge: "Archbishop Ireland says the pope must be respected. True—but *so must the Methodist Episcopal Church be respected!* So must Protestantism, which is cruelly assailed and insulted by the pope's emissaries in every land, be respected. To preach the Gospel in Rome is not to insult the pope. To defend the principles of human liberty, to stand firm as the everlasting hills for religious freedom and civil rights even in Rome is not to insult the pope. The only vicar of God on earth is conscience! Let His Holiness come out from his voluntary seclusion as the "Prisoner of the Vatican" and put an end to that sentimental farce; let him

come out to the throbbing life of the modern world, to the homes, the shops, the crowded marts of trade, the schools and universities where real men live and think and toil," &c., &c., "let him give the Bible, even in his own version, to his people as he does the Breviary," &c

"The Nature of the Atonement" is discussed by Rev. John J. Martin, Ph.D., of Chicago, in the July number of *The American Journal of Theology*. He makes first a series of general statements. a. The atonement is not a definition or doctrinal formula. It is a spiritual fact and principle. Lack of ability to give it philosophical harmony does not affect the fact in the least. b. The atonement, to be effectually preached, must be realized as a present power. c. The nature of the atonement must not be influenced by particular world-views. Personal relation to God is far more important than any view of the universe. d. The only adequate category in which the atonement can be conceived is that of personality. Jesus never departed from this either in thought or activity. He assumed the Fatherhood of God. e. Man is radically a social being, and his personal salvation benefits society. f. The atonement has to do only in a related way with the consequences of sin. Forgiveness of sin does not cancel or neutralize the consequences of sin mechanically. The energy of the atonement is focused upon the sinner. g. The atonement presents no problem in the being of God. It is a principle that proceeds from God. Secondly, the Need of the Atonement arises: a. From the fact that men need first and foremost some inner unifying principle to bring them under authority. b. Man needs to be reconciled with the world-order in which he lives. c. He needs to be reconciled with God. Thirdly, the Master-Force of the Atonement: a. Christ emancipates and enables the will. b. He comes into the believer's life as a great motive power.

Much of this is good and true, but no view of atonement is so satisfying to the human spirit as that which simply rests in Christ as the great sin-atonement Lamb, who reconciles God first and then man.

In the July *Hibbert Journal*, Professor Armitage of Bradford, England, gives the reason "Why Athanasius won at Nicaea."

The strength of Athanasius does not lie in arguments at all, but in a Christian life which has grown out of the messages delivered at the first by the Apostles, and an experience which still roots itself there. These men make merry in vain who think there was but an *iota* of difference between the contending parties at Nicaea, or that it was a strife about terms. The deepest things of the Christian life were at stake. For Athanasius belonged to that small class of men in the Church who have ever sent new life coursing through its veins. He was of the company of Paul and Augustine, of Luther and Bunyan. He stood at Nicaea as the exponent of the deeper soul in every man's soul, whose need could be met only by One who is God of very God, and of one substance with the Father.

In the same number of the *Hibbert Journal* we have a posthumous article from the pen of Professor Borden P. Bowne, the eminent Christian philosopher and theologian. The subject is, "Gains for Religious Thought in the Last Generation." We have recovered from the intoxication produced by the discovery and proclamation of new scientific truths, which seemed, for a time at least, to imperil religion. But now that we have a more adequate philosophical equipment we need no longer fear the facts which once seemed destructive of religion. It is now recognized that religion is a great human fact "and not an adventitious outcome of animal needs changed by association" as the empirical philosophers would have it.

As to the problem of causality philosophy has come to see that it must be theistically interpreted if we would save both science and reason from collapse. "Atheism and materialism of the traditional types are definitely and finally set aside as marks of a belated intelligence." The form and method of cosmic causality are matters of science. The nature and purpose of causality belong to philosophy and religion. The religious value of this distinction is seen in the complete disappearance of the alarm long felt over the doctrine of evolution. The disturbance over this doctrine, which for a time was great, was entirely due to confusing the question of causality with the question of method. Evolution is after all only a movement toward a goal directed by infinite intelligence.

Religion also has become more wholesome. We now find God

everywhere and in all things, but working everywhere according to dependable law.

Another gain is a better philosophy of religious belief. We no longer are under the traditional superstition that nothing is to be believed which is not either self-evident or technically demonstrated. It is now seen that life and action are deeper than logical processes, that immediate premises are behind all inferences, that thought cannot begin until life furnishes the data, and that there is nothing deeper in cognition and life than the fundamental needs, interests and instincts of the mind. "Technically our faith does not admit of demonstration; neither does any other faith or unfaith. But it does admit of being lived; and when it is lived, our souls see that it is good, and we are satisfied that it is Divine."

II. IN GERMAN.

BY PROFESSOR ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, A.M., B.D.

The discussion precipitated by Arthur Drews through his *Christusmythe* and through his tours of popular lectures denying the historicity of Jesus, though much abated, has not entirely ceased. Drews' most recent effort has been to resolve the Apostle Peter into a myth. But these interesting attempts at the mythologizing of historical personages have been frowned upon by the entire scientific world. Earnest investigators refuse to tarry long by a theme so manifestly barren and each of them after delivering a few telling blows against the novel movement has returned to his accustomed line of investigation. Other topics bearing upon religion and theology have claimed the attention of the public and called for discussion, so that even already Drews and his cause are scarcely heard of in the scientific theological journals. The only lasting impression that Drews would seem to have made has been among the materialistic monists, the proletariat, and the anti-churchly and irreligious masses. It was to these classes that he appealed from the first and his efforts would seem to have accomplished nothing more than to have placed in their hands an added instrument of destruction. But the popular discussion of the subject is rapidly

dying away and will probably soon pass into complete silence. Other subjects come to the front.

Several items of international interest have received pretty general discussion in the German Church papers of the last few months. First among these we mention the papal encyclical of May 26th, celebrating the counter-reformer Borromeo and slandering the German Reformers of the sixteenth century and the princes who aided them. This aroused the Protestant consciousness of the entire German people as never before in recent years calling forth a veritable storm of violent public protest and bitter indignation and resulting in what really amounts to a retraction on the part of the Vatican,—a thing unprecedented in the history of infallible popes. The liberal papers gave large space to the doings of the World's Congress for Free Christianity and Religious Progress, which convened in Berlin from August 4th to 10th, and was attended by a large number of American theologians. The famous "Zwickau Theses" adopted by over 1500 representatives of the elementary schools and endorsed by numerous conventions and demanding the modernization of the religious teaching in public schools, have thoroughly aroused the conservative classes of religious thinkers and called forth voluminous discussion. And now most recently the attention is directed to the Emperor's address at Königsberg, in which he reaffirms his belief in the divine rights of kings. But we can only mention these current discussions bearing on religion for their theological import is small. We hasten to report a discovery and a debate of real significance for strictly scientific theology.

The discovery was made by an Englishman. The debate is carried on by the Germans. Mr. J. Rendel Harris, the celebrated Birmingham scholar, late last year discovered among the manuscripts on his shelves a document which he published with translation and comments under the title *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*. This he modestly claims to be a discovery of epoch-making importance. And in this view other scholars concur. Harnack pronounces it the most valuable discovery in the field of early Christian literature that has been made since the finding of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. His views as to the authorship of the odes, their date and their bearing upon New

Testament problems he lays down in a monograph in *Texte und Untersuchungen* (1910), XXXV, No. 4, where the odes appear in an independent German translation by Johannes Flemming. In the first number of the current volume of the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* Ebrard Nestle, who had read carefully Harris' proof, calls attention to the new find and briefly states his opinion. In a very lengthy article in the twelfth number of the same paper Johannes Hausleiter attacks Harnack and maintains the position of Harris as to the authorship of the odes and the conclusions warranted. G. Diettrich in No. 19 of the *Reformation* holds the same position as Harnack, while Johannes Leipoldt in No. 27 of the *Allgemeine Evangelische-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* sides with Hausleiter against Harnack, as does also Wohlenberg in No 7 of the *Schleswig-Holstein Kirchenblatt*. Further discussion is sure to follow for the theme is fruitful. We need to look at the odes somewhat more closely in order to understand the issues involved.

Mr. Harris' document is a manuscript three or four centuries old coming from the region of the Tigris, written in Syriac, a translation probably from the Greek. It consists of 56 leaves and contains 58 odes or songs, composed probably in the first century of our era. Seventeen of these odes are the well-known "Psalms of Solomon," Jewish compositions which belong to the time immediately following Pompey's death and which have come down to us in a Greek translation doubtless from a Semitic original. The other 41 poems constitute a work which was known in the early Church as the "Odes of Solomon." The name of this work had been familiar to us from patristic literature. The church father Lactantius, a contemporary of Constantine the Great, quotes from the "19th ode of Solomon" and that too in a connection which shows that he counts it of equal value with the Old Testament, if not indeed a part of it. Then, too, this Solomonic writing is mentioned in two Greek registers of the biblical Canon, the pseudo-athanasian synopsis of the 6th century and the stichometry of Nicephorus of the 9th century, both times in close connection with the "Psalms of Solomon." And five of the odes now discovered had been quoted literally and extensively in an ancient gnostic book called the *Pistis Sophia*. This is a Coptic translation but the connection shows that for the gnostic author the "Odes of Solomon" had the same

authority as the Old Testament. Thus the importance of the discovery becomes evident at once. We have placed in our hands in almost complete form a work which hails from the earliest period of our era, which enjoyed full canonical authority in certain quarters and a high regard in the Church at large, and which is therefore fraught with possibilities of information on that critical period in the world's religious history.

Now the question at issue is the authorship and the date of the composition of these poems. The answer promises much for the history of the Christian origins. For these odes are very mystical compositions and manifest a trend of thought which we instinctively associate with the literature of the New Testament. Their unique terminology and general atmosphere are a constant reminder of that literature and especially of the mysticisms of St. John. If therefore we can fix the date of their composition or the quality of their authorship we shall have made a mighty stride toward the solution of the problem concerning the origin of the Johannie mysticism and possibly even of Pauline Christianity.

That the odes were not written by Solomon is evident. The title of a book in the antique world is no indication of its authorship, for it is a well-known fact that in that early age illustrious names were very frequently superscribed to writings and sometimes interpolated into the context in order to secure for the compositions a wider circulation. That this work is no wilful forgery is equally certain. Nowhere does the author manifest the least effort to impersonate Solomon. Without doubt, therefore, we have here the words of some deeply pious soul too modest to give his name. Some time after their composition (but before the 4th century, when Lactantius knew them as the "Odes of Solomon"), some writer concluded from the striking romanticism reflected in the crystal beauty of the songs that their author must have been Solomon, who according to I Kings 4:32, "spake 3000 proverbs, and his songs were 1005." Hence the designation of our odes.

But was it a Jew or a Christian who wrote the hymns? This question can be answered only by examining the inner content of the hymns. If they were written by a Jew and before John's Gospel, then we may conclude that the Johannie literature of the New Testament is the offspring of the same atmosphere

which produced these odes, namely, an atmosphere which existed before Christianity. And we must further conclude that the distinctive doctrines in that literature, the doctrines so highly cherished by orthodox mystical Christianity, are not the product of the Spirit of Christ in the experience of the disciple but are merely Jewish molds of thought into which Christ's teaching was cast by the earliest speculative theologians, and much that we have been accustomed to consider peculiarly Christian is really the outgrowth of Judaism. This is the position which Harnack maintains. But if the odes were written by a Christian and no considerable time before John's Gospel, than we may conclude that both compositions are the product of one Spirit and experience. And we must further conclude that the yearning mysticism of love and joy, the precious doctrines of salvation, life, and immortality, and the emphasis placed upon the Word and faith, all of which are common to the Johannie literature *and* the odes, are peculiar to the Christian Church and not merely beautiful heirlooms from Judaism,—that the activity of the Apostle Paul first prepared the spiritual soil which yielded such piety. This is the position which Hausleiter maintains. Thus do the authorities differ in their interpretation of the internal evidence. We may reproduce a few of their respective arguments.

The chief passage in the odes which can be of service in dating them is the first verse of the fourth ode: "No man, O my God, changeth Thy holy place; for Thy sanctuary Thou hast designed before Thou didst make other places." This passage in Harnack's opinion refers to the temple at Jerusalem and presupposes that the temple still stands. The ode must therefore have been written before the year 70 A. D. Furthermore the sentiment is clearly Jewish and refers to the Rabbinical conception of the ideal pre-existence of the temple. It is inconceivable that a Christian should have uttered such a glorification of the temple after Jesus (Mt. 24:2) and Stephen (Acts 6:13 sq.) had spoken so emphatically concerning its transitory character. "We see at once, that the temple still stands, that the author regards it as a sacred object which God created before the creation of the world, and that he regards it as the most sacred of all objects. He is therefore a Jew."

But Hausleiter points out that this interpretation of the pas-

sage seriously disturbs the continuity of the ode and in fact contradicts the sense of the context. He proves successfully from a large number of instances that the language of the odes is highly metaphorical, and concludes that the word "temple" in this connection refers to the Christian Church, which is considered pre-existent as in Eph. 1:4. This passage would indicate, therefore, that the odes were written by a Christian and possibly long after the year 70.

The question is discussed as to the doctrinal references in the odes. Are they distinctively Christian or Jewish? Harnack says that the body of the work is genuine Jewish literature and only one or two of the odes (Nos. 19 and 27) are to any considerable extent of Christian origin. Upon close scrutiny and by a process of severe literary criticism he discovers that these passages containing undeniable orthodox christological allusions are not germane to the context. The sense is improved by omitting them. They are therefore the interpolations of some Christian hand. Furthermore, many of the allusions so characteristic of early Christian literature are wholly wanting, such as the ecclesiastical sentiment, the emphasis upon the sacraments, and the references to the Christian doctrines of sin, grace, and forgiveness. The conclusion is that the authorship is Jewish and that the distinctively Christian passages have been interpolated upon the Jewish context. Thus would Harnack apply to the new discovery the same solution with which he was supposed some years ago to have settled at one stroke the question of the origin of the book of Revelation. Diettrich also regards the odes as a Christian expansion of a Jewish document.

But this composite character of the odes is emphatically denied by Hausleiter and others. Nestle gives it as his opinion that they constitute a literary unity and agrees with Harris in ascribing them all to one author. Hausleiter by a lengthy argument based chiefly upon the metaphorical character of the language proves that the two odes (Nos. 4 and 6) which Harnack regards as undeniably Jewish are really Christian. He also points out a much larger number of clear references to Christian doctrine than Harnack admits, e. g., the Son of God, the Light, the trinitarian formula, the Cross, the Virgin Birth, the sufferings of Christ, the descensus, free grace (not merit). From these numerous definite theological references to the faith of the

Christian Church and from the fact that no passage is necessarily Jewish he concludes that the work is of Christian authorship. Any patent historical references to Jesus and first century events which might have been contained in the original odes would have been removed as anachronisms as soon as the conviction arose that Solomon himself wrote them. Harnack's hypothesis embodies an inconsistency, for a Christian interpolator would surely have expunged such a passage as 4:1 sqq. if the reference were to the temple at Jerusalem. Leipoldt adds an argument in favor of the Christian origin of the odes, to the effect that we have no instance on record of a Jewish author in that age singing in psalmodic strains without assuming the role of another. The very modesty of the author argues against his being a Jew.

All who argue that the author was a Christian admit that he was not far removed from Judaism and call him Jewish Christian. The Coptic text of the *Pistis Sophia* and the Syriac of Harris' document evidently are translations from the Greek. But the Greek can hardly have been the original language of the odes. Leipoldt shows by retranslation that the proper rhythm is secured only by setting them in a Semitic tongue, e. g., the Aramaic. The author must be sought, therefore, among the early Jewish Christians of Palestine. The same conclusion is warranted from the ethico-religious content of the odes. They constitute a worthy example of the "psalms and hymns and spiritual odes" mentioned by Paul (Eph. 5:19).

When Lietzmann discovered last year that the gnostic presuppositions for John's Gospel existed even before the first century he removed a strong argument from those who claimed that the Gospel could not have been written before the middle of the second century. But recently Harnack and others have argued that the type of piety reflected in the Johannie literature can be explained from pre-Christian and extra-Christian conditions. The newly discovered odes it is claimed are simply another link in the chain of evidence supporting that view. On the other hand it is argued that the odes are a new proof that the fourth Gospel and the other Johannie literature could not have been written by a Hellenist but must have been written by a Palestinian Jew converted to Christianity. Surely the peculiarities of oriental lyric invest the problem with many difficulties and it

may be expected that a large literature of interpretation and criticism will soon gather about the new discovery. Meanwhile the naive reader will be able to gather refreshment and inspiration from these poetic compositions, for not only do they teem with the charming analogies and the original flavor of some of the psalms but they reflect a type of piety and a richness of spiritual experience that seems to presuppose the divine touch of even "a greater than Solomon."

ARTICLE VII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

EATON & MAINS. NEW YORK.

Religious Certainty. By Francis J. McConnell, President of DePauw University. Pp. 222. Price \$1.00.

This splendid little volume seems to have been written with the perplexities of the cultured layman in view. It makes no pretense to a solution of profound philosophical or scientific problems; nor yet to set forth a theological theory of religious faith. It is rather an interpretation of Religious Faith adjusted to the best conclusions of modern thought. To the ordinary lay reader there is no doubt much in modern literature that makes the impression that the old landmarks of the faith are swept away. Criticism would seem to have taken away our Bible; Evolutionism would appear to have destroyed the theistic conception of the world; and Pragmatism would pretend to have done away with the concept of the Absolute in any and every sense. Neither of these conclusions are true. But these terms stand for scientific methods whose results require a readjustment of our *understanding of the faith*. As a guide to this readjustment the volume of President McConnell is most excellent.

In setting up criteria of certainty there are two dangers to be avoided; first, there is danger of making certainty a matter of such complete subjectivity as to lose the unifying objective guarantee entirely; and second, there is the scholastic danger of construing certainty as a matter of mere intellectual assent to a logical system of doctrine which is wholly objective. Most of the errors and scepticisms have arisen from one or the other of these errors. In his first chapter the author despatches these pitfalls by showing the relation between Life and Certainty. "Religion is pre-eminently a matter of life, and in life absolute infallibility plays small part." "We must move out from the realm of infallibility into that of practical certainty. Again, *we must insist upon a whole mind* whose demands for certainty are to be satisfied, but we must insist upon certainty of the same kind as that for which we seek in real life—the certainty that comes out of life and that issues in life. *The mind lives upon its belief as the body lives upon bread and water and air. Life is first, and formal reasoning second.*" (P. 6 & 7 f.) (Italics mine). "Civilization proceeds by what might be called the exercise of humanity's right of eminent domain." (P. 9). "Belief is the energy of the soul shown in intense seizures and de-

terminated grasps." (12). This impresses the reader as radical Pragmatism. But the breadth of the author's vision leads him far beyond the narrow range of this attractive novelty in philosophy. "If a belief promises anything the pragmatist says: 'Ask not for its pedigree or for its certificate of good standing from the professional logicians and system-inspectors. Simply try the thought and see the practical result.' It can readily be seen that this system is open to grave charges of incompleteness." (61 f.) "All this can be understood as rebellion against and reaction from the self-sufficiency of the rationalistic absolutists, but such rebellion fails to recognize the driving force of logical passion back of the absolutists, mistaken and extreme as their systems may have been (67.)" Religious certainty rests upon the "*whole mind*," and its criteria comprehend the apriori principles of the Absolutist *and* the practical results of the Pragmatist.

Belief rests upon facts. Our certainty with respect to "the great convictions of Christianity" (23) rests upon a comprehensive grasp of its great facts together with the central fact of "life" with all that life means. It is not sufficient for faith to have a theory which gives a retrospective account of life (biologically); life's profoundest meaning is prospective. The longing for immortality is a fact and every theory of the universe does take an attitude towards it even if presumably only to deny it. But the enrichment and the more adequate interpretation which life receives through the Christian doctrine gives it its pre-eminence as an article of belief.

When he comes to speak of the Bible and Religious Certainty he says: "The authority is the authority of life itself. The force of the Scriptures is so distinctly vital that it catches us in its momentum and carries us along. When we seek for a better understanding of the Scriptures as to their authority we really have in mind the closer contact with the life there..... for the characteristic of the Book is that above all other books it is throbbing with life." (133) So likewise in the matter of belief in prayer. The objective and the subjective combine in this high function, not to the obliteration of either the one or the other, but to the sublime realization of their mutual reciprocity. "The prayer can hardly be sincere until it involves the entire life of the petitioner..... We live only as we act, and the answer to prayer which involves the most of activity on the part of the petitioner is the truest answer."

"Here some one may protest that all this is merely reflex. &c." But that is seeing only one side of the process. "A petition which is merely articulated breath may be dismissed for all spiritual purposes, but if we must believe for the satisfaction of our scientific demands that even the breath waves started by such a petitioner have to be taken account of, much more may we

believe that in sincere prayer the spiritual life-throbs beating out toward a desired object have to be reckoned with. If we believe in a physical system we may believe also in a spiritual system. . . . Many interlocking assumptions are wrapped up in the Christian thought of prayer; the idea of the existence of God &c. . . . But these assumptions are in the path of *life*, and we hold fast to them and take increase of certainty from them." (181 ff.)

I have indulged liberally in quotations in order to give the reader a taste of the vivacious style of the book. It will be a profitable book for every reader, for the perplexed it will be a refreshing guide out of many perplexities. It is not likely to refute or convert the confirmed sceptic.

C. F. SANDERS.

Behind the World and Beyond. By Henry A. Stimson, Minister of the Manhattan Congregational Church, New York City. Pp. 291. Price \$1.25 net.

Dr. Stimson's name is by no means a new one to the readers of sermonic literature. He has previously published several volumes of sermons which have given him a high rank in the American pulpit. In this new volume his reputation is well sustained.

There are twenty-five sermons. The subject of the first one is, "What Lies Behind This Puzzling World," and this gives the title to the book. It is also, in a sense, the keynote of the volume as a whole. As the author says in the preface, "The title of this book, while suggested by the opening chapter, is justified by the subject matter of the book. It deals with spiritual realities, with what Plato called *noumena* as distinct from the *phenomena* of life. The latter are what most absorbs men's attention, but back of them and beyond them is the realm of the great truths which, while easily overlooked or disregarded, persist through all change, and are eternal."

Some of the other topics discussed are, "Can Sin be Forgiven?", "The Meaning of a Neglected Christ," "The Manly Side of Temptation," "The Psychology of Conversion," "The Challenge of the Christian Church," &c.

Among the most important of the sermons, perhaps, are three on "The Essentials of the Christian Faith." In these Dr. Stimson stoutly defends the inspiration of the Scriptures and their reliability as a guide in spiritual things, the deity of Jesus Christ, the virgin birth, the sinlessness of His character, the miracles, His bodily resurrection, &c. He preaches substantially the old theology and the old Gospel which our fathers believed and taught, and on which they grew to the stature of manhood in Jesus Christ.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE TROW PRESS. NEW YORK.

Justice to the Jew, the Story of What He Has Done For the World. By Madison C. Peters. New and Revised Edition. Pp. 244.

In the preface of this little volume the author informs us that the first edition was published about eleven years ago. Some two years later the plates of that edition were destroyed, and the author set himself to the task of rewriting, the results of which effort are now presented in this volume, the only old thing about which, we are told, is the title.

Dr. Peters is not a Jew, but a distinguished and popular, if somewhat erratic, preacher of the Presbyterian and several other denominations. He tells us that he is of German origin and was thoroughly indoctrinated, in his youth, in all the prejudices against the Jews which are so characteristic of the German people, who have been among the leading "Jew-baiters" of the world. But he has evidently worked *con amore* in the preparation of this volume, and has gone to great pains in his effort to do "justice to the Jew." As one follows the fascinating pages it is easy to believe that, as the author tells us, he has examined and consulted many "forgotten tomes and musty manuscripts buried in the obscurity of libraries and private collections."

It is certainly a very interesting story that he tells, and one that will be a surprise to many of his readers. For example, he claims that the old story of Queen Isabella pawning her jewels to provide funds to equip the fleet with which Columbus sailed forth to discover a new continent, is not true, and that the money, "17,000 ducats, then equivalent to about \$20,000," was really furnished "out of his own private treasury," by one "Luis Santangel, a Marano or secret Jew." He also informs us that Columbus had numerous Jews in the crews of his ships, among them "a Jewish interpreter, a Jewish surgeon, and a Jewish physician," and also that another Jew, "Luis de Torres by name," was "the first white man to tread the soil of the Indian Guahanani (called afterwards San Salvador)."

Many great inventions and discoveries are credited to Jews. They are shown also, quite contrary to the general impression, to have been earnest patriots and good soldiers in every country that has granted them citizenship, or even given them an opportunity to show themselves worthy of it.

That among the Jews have been many great writers, journalists, poets, philosophers, musicians, jurists and statesmen, as well as great financiers, is better known. But it is doubtful whether even among those who are disposed to do "justice to the Jew" there are many who have any adequate understanding of how much this wonderful people have really contributed to the

knowledge, and culture, and prosperity of the race, in these different lines of human activity and progress.

This is a book to be read and studied for its much valuable information, not otherwise easily accessible, and to remove an unreasonable and often cruel and vindictive prejudice against the most remarkable people of all history, and then to be kept at hand for constant reference.

The first chapter is a very informing essay by Oscar S. Straus, Litt.D., LL.D., Secretary of Commerce and Labor, on "The Influence of the Hebrew Commonwealth upon the Origin of Republican Government in the United States."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY. PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Present Day Lutheranism. By Professor Frank P. Manharts, M.A., D.D. Third Printing. Pamphlet, pp. 29.

This belongs to the series of "Lutheran Monographs" being put out by our Publication House. It consists of a number of "theses" which were first published in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, in the April Number of this year.

The theses number 72. The general spirit and trend of them is very well expressed in the first paragraph of the "Foreword." "The author's aim is purely irenic. He believes that the divided hosts of Lutheranism may wisely and profitably seek a basis for unity, fraternity and co-operation."

In the development of the theses, Dr. Manharts plants himself firmly on the position that the acceptance of the Augsburg Confession is "entirely sufficient to make, and identify as Lutheran, an individual, a theological school, a congregation, a synod or other church body" (18) and also that "there is nothing in the Formula of Concord, or in the other Lutheran Symbols of the Book of Concord, that calls for a decisive and schismatic or sectarian spirit, with regard to Lutherans who subscribe only to the Augsburg Confession" (26).

All this, and much more in other theses, is very interesting just now in view of the fact that one of the general Lutheran bodies of this country, the Joint Synod of Ohio, is threatening to withdraw from all "fellowship" with the General Council because the latter body is suspected of holding fellowship with the General Synod, though its officers deny that such is the fact. See editorial in the *Lutheran Observer* of Sept. 16th, 1910.

It would be well if all such narrow, divisive and separatistic Lutherans would read and "inwardly digest" Dr. Manharts's theses on "Present Day Lutheranism." They should certainly be read with great care by all Lutherans of the General Synod, and especially by all those who may have any doubt about the

sufficiency of the doctrinal basis of that body, or who are disposed to broaden that basis, or rather to narrow it, in the hope of thereby winning greater favor and a fuller recognition among other Lutherans of a stricter type, or of hastening in this way the day of a better understanding and more unity among the now divided Lutheran bodies in this country. According to Dr. Manhart Lutheran unity does not seem to lie in that direction.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO. BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

The Home-Comers. By Winifred Kirkland, Author of "Polly Pat's Parish" and "Introducing Corinna." Cloth. Pp. 326. Price \$1.20 net.

"The Home-Comers" is a bright and interesting story for boys and girls. Grandmother Dorrel, who is really the heroine, receives a legacy of a few thousand dollars, and thereupon brings home four city-bred and spoiled orphaned children of her son. Their adjustment to the happy, simple life of a farm and to their grandmother's sensible and noble ideas forms the subject matter of a wholesome tale, suitable for school or Sunday School libraries.

E. S.

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA. WESTERVILLE, OHIO.

The Anti-Saloon League Year Book, 1910. An Encyclopedia of Facts and Figures Dealing with the Liquor Traffic and the Temperance Reform, compiled and edited by Ernest Hurst Oberrington. Pp. 256. 12 mo. Price, Manila, 35 cents; Cloth, 60 cents.

This little book is just what the title claims, and is almost indispensable to the wide-awake pastor and temperance worker.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

TESTIMONY PUBLISHING COMPANY. 808 LA SALLE AVE., CHICAGO.

The Fundamentals. A Testimony to Truth, Vol. ii. Pp. 125. Paper, 12 mo.

This is the second volume of a series of booklets distributed by "Two Christian Laymen" free of charge "to every pastor, evangelist, missionary, theological student, Sunday School superintendent, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. secretary in the English speaking world, so far as the addresses of all these can be obtained." These booklets are all furnished to the laity at fifteen

cents per copy, eight copies for one dollar, or one hundred copies for ten dollars. The contents of these booklets justify the monumental benevolence of the two Christian laymen. Blessings on their heads! They are doing great things for the kingdom in placing defenses of our holy faith within the reach of every English speaking pastor. We urge our readers to secure these volumes, to read and to circulate them most widely. The contents are as follows:

1. The Testimony of the Monuments to the Truth of the Scriptures, by Prof. Wright of Oberlin.

2. The Recent Testimony of Archaeology to the Scriptures, by Dr. Kyle, Egyptologist.

3. Fallacies of Higher Criticism, by Dr. Franklin Johnson.

4. Christ and Criticism, by Sir Robt. Anderson of London.

5. Modern Philosophy, by Philip Mauro, Esq., of N. Y.

6. Justification by Faith, by Bishop Moule of England.

7. Tributes to Christ and the Bible, by Brainy Men not known as Christians.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE. ST. LOUIS.

Kommentar ueber den Brief Pauli an die Epheser, von Dr. G. Stöckhardt, Professor am Concordia-Seminar zu St. Louis. Half leather bound. Pp. 264. 6x9. Price \$1.25.

Katechismuspredigten ueber das erste und zweite Hauptstück, von C. C. Schmidt, Pastor an der ev. luth. Gemeinde zum heiligen Kreuz in St. Louis, Mo. Do. Do. Ueber das dritte, vierte und fünfte Hauptstück. Half leather. Pp. 273 and 136. Price \$2.00.

Dr. Stöckhardt has fulfilled expectations awakened by his commentary on Romans in this his latest work on Ephesians. We have before us the ripe fruits of his study, no doubt, for the class-room. While the commentary is thoroughly critical in its analysis of the original text, its aim is practical. The faithful use of it on the part of pastors will make them able ministers of the New Testament. The Introduction deals with the problem of authorship in particular and finds no reason for attributing Ephesians to any other author than the Apostle Paul. The make up of the book is up to the high standard of the Concordia House, and the price, considering this and the contents of the book—especially the accurate quotations from the Greek—is a marvel of cheapness.

Prof. Schmidt's Catechism-Sermons are in the line of the celebrated Ahlfeld's expositions. In this volume we have a thoroughly interesting and practical treatment of the Five Parts of

Luther's Smaller Catechism. A series of sermons on the great doctrines of the Catechism must be edifying and refreshing to older Christians. The catechist will find many suggestions for the class in these sermons. They furnish also excellent Sunday reading for the home. We hardly need to say that the book is splendidly gotten up.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

FUNK AND WAGNALLS CO. NEW YORK.

The Homiletic Review. An international magazine discussing current, religious and theological thought and every phase of the preacher's work. Subscription \$3.00 per annum; \$2.50 to ministers if paid in advance.

The August number contains, among other good things, a report of "The Edinburgh World Missionary Conference," a sermon on "The Vision of God" by Dr. Rush Rhees, and an article from the pen of Prof. Sayce on "The Language and Script of Earlier Old Testament Books." Prof. Sayce argues that "if there are any records in the Old Testament earlier than the time of David they would have been written on clay tablets in the Assyrian language and script" and translated or paraphrased later into Hebrew. "The linguistic foundation on which the Higher Criticism has built its conclusions thus turns out to be a foundation of sand."

ARTICLE VIII.

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